INDIA AS SEEN BY BABUR

(A D 1504-1530)

R. NATH

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The *Bābur-Nāmah* of Babur is not only an autobiography, annals, diary and memoir, it is also a *unique work of History*. It contains his observation of Man, Society and Civilization, and it provides an excellent study of the countries Babur visited : their terrain, rivers and mountains; routes; flora and fauna; people and their habits and customs; diet and dress; and arts and crafts. It also provides a wonderful terminology of Turki Persian and Hindustani words and, for that matter, an extremely useful linguistic study, and above all, an excellent *anthropological account of races, tribes and clans* of the Turks, Mughuls Aūzbegs (Uzbegs), Chaghtāis, Turkmāns, Tarkhāns, Arghūns and Afghāns. It is, thus, a useful document for the study of social and cultural history of the period, of the Punjab and the Jamuna-Chambal region, over and above its political and military contents for which it has been hitherto largely utilized. It is, in fact, a veritable source of the history of early 16th century AD India.

India As Seen by Babur is a compilation, commentary and critique of Babur's observations of India and the Indian things, from c. 1504 to 1530 AD. An attempt has been made in this book to identify the places he described and correct the terms he used by giving denotary vernacular equivalents, side by side. His expressions, as translated by Beveridge, have been simplified and the *historical content* of his narrative has been retrieved from cumbersome details and chronological labyrinths. Some important relevant data has been given in the Appendices. Illustrations (figures and plates) have also been inserted for this purpose. Beveridge's notes and annotations have been overwhelmingly revised and updated. All this makes it an altogether new work on Babur, in a new format.

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DEDICATED
TO
THE MEMORY OF
A.S. BEVERIDGE

and other scholars, without whose learned and painstaking
translations, into English, the

BĀBUR-NĀMAH

and numerous medieval Persian
texts would have remained sealed books

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PREFACE

In spite of his thirtysix years' ventures in war, Babur was, essentially, a man of peace : honest and **graphic chronicler**; poet; ardent lover of nature and maker of beautiful gardens; artist-aesthete; and, above all, a humanist. The *Bābur-Nāmah* (*BN*) which is his Diary, Autobiography and *Memoirs*, is an excellent work of History, full of his keen study and observations of Man, Society and **Civilization**, more than the political and military matters. He graphically described the **life of the People**, as much as the rivers, mountains, fauna and flora of the countries he visited, with an interest, feeling, sympathy, love and passion which only an **aesthete** could possess. The *BN*, thus, provides a veritable source of the history of early 16th century India.

Based on its faithful translation by Mrs A.S. Beveridge (2-vols, London 1921-22; 2 vols-in-one, reprint Delhi 1970), *India As Seen by Babur* (1504-30 AD) is a compilation, commentary and critique of Babur's observations of India and Indian things, from 1504 to 1530 AD. He wrote his *Memoirs* day to day, in the form of a diary, chronologically, in accordance with his **movements**, and persons, places and events were intermixed with his itinerary. Hence, it has been divided into seven chapters, including the Introductory chapter on Babur himself, **site-and-subject-wise**, making each an independent one. Attempt has been made to identify the places he described and correct the terms he used by giving denotary **deshī** equivalents, side by side. His expressions, as translated by Beveridge, have been simplified and the **historical content** of his narrative has been retrieved from cumbersome details and chronological labyrinths. Some important relevant data has been given in the Appendices. Illustrations (Figures and Plates) have also been inserted for this purpose. Beveridge's notes and annotations have been overwhelmingly revised and updated. All this makes it an altogether new work on Babur, in a new format.

This work is dedicated to the memory of A.S. Beveridge and other scholars without whose learned and painstaking translations, into English, the *Bābur-Nāmah* and numerous Medieval Persian texts would have remained sealed books. We owe our knowledge of Medieval Indian History to them. We wish, we could have done, in the Congress Raj, just ten per cent of what they did during the British Raj.

My thanks are due to my son Ajay Nath and daughter Sandhya for their assistance in the preparation of the work and its illustrations, and to M/s M D Publications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi for publishing it in a nice format.

Agra : 28 May 1995

R. Nath

ABBREVIATIONS

'Āīn	—	*'Āīn-i-Akbarī* of Abū'l Faḍl, tr. Vol. I by H. Blochmann (Delhi 1965); Vol. II by H.S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1891); Vol. III by H.S Jarrett (Calcutta, 1894)
Ar.	—	Arabic
B.	—	Bengālī (*Banglā*)
BN	—	The *Bābur-Nāmah* (*Tuzuk-i-Bāburī*) (Memoirs of Babur) tr. by A.S. Beveridge from the original *Turkī* text, 2 vols. in one (New Delhi 1970)
ECodex	—	*Elphinstone Codex* (for details of various manuscripts of *BN*, see *BN*, Preface, xxxix-li)
H.	—	Hindī
HCodex	—	*Haidarabad Codex*, *Turkī* ms. of the *Bābur-Nāmah*, c. 1700 AD, preserved in the Salarjung Library Hyderabad (cf. *BN*, Preface, xxxix-li)
HMA	—	*History of Mughal Architecture* by R. Nath, Vol. I (New Delhi, 1982); Vol. II (New Delhi, 1985); Vol. III (New Delhi, 1994)
Mems	—	*Memoirs of Babur* tr. by Leyden and Erskine (London 1826)
P. or Per.	—	Persian
Śāhīs	—	*The Last Two Dynasties of the Śāhīs*, by Abdur Rehman (Islamabad, 1979)
Skt.	—	Sanskrit
T.	—	Turkī
V.	—	Vernacular

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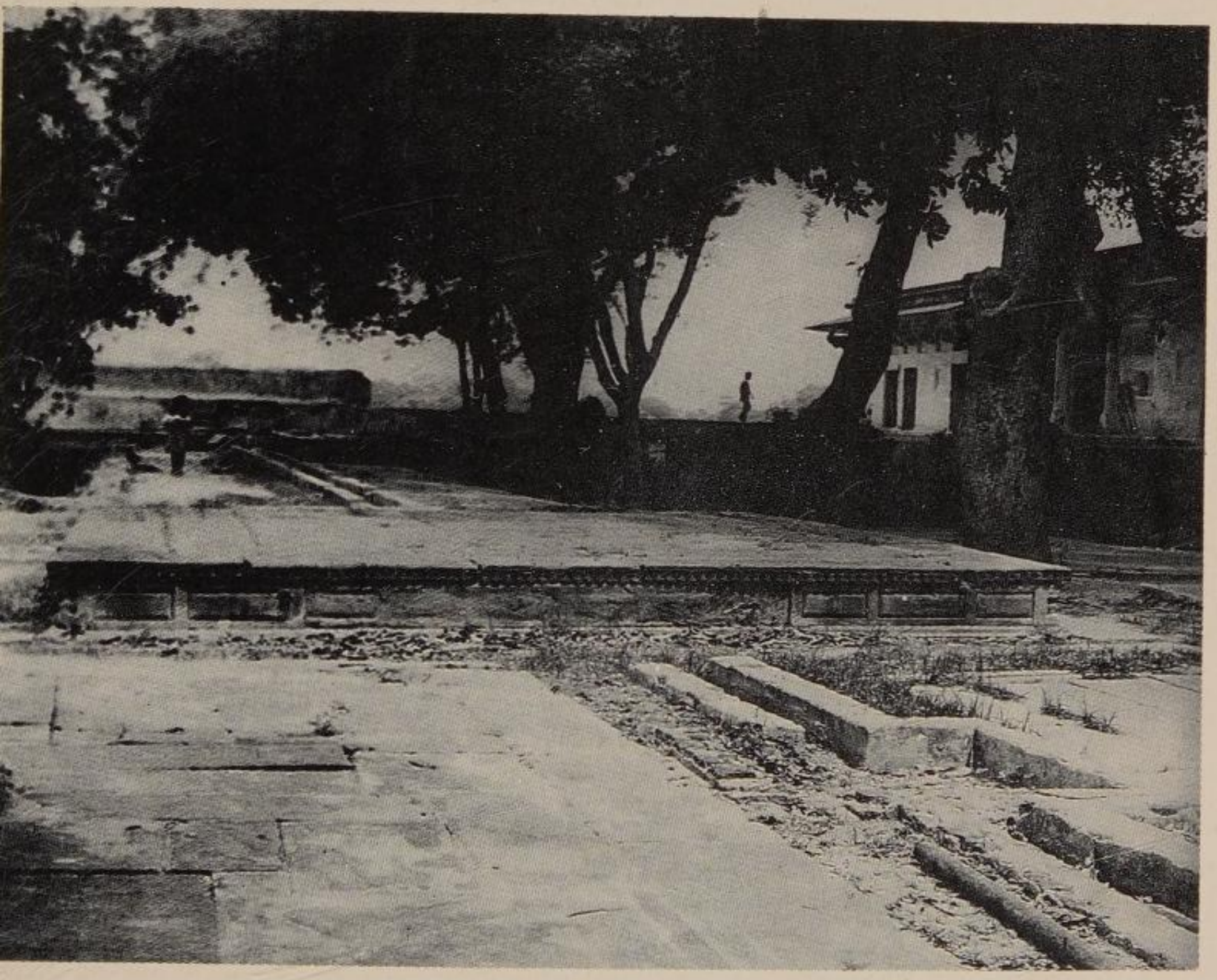

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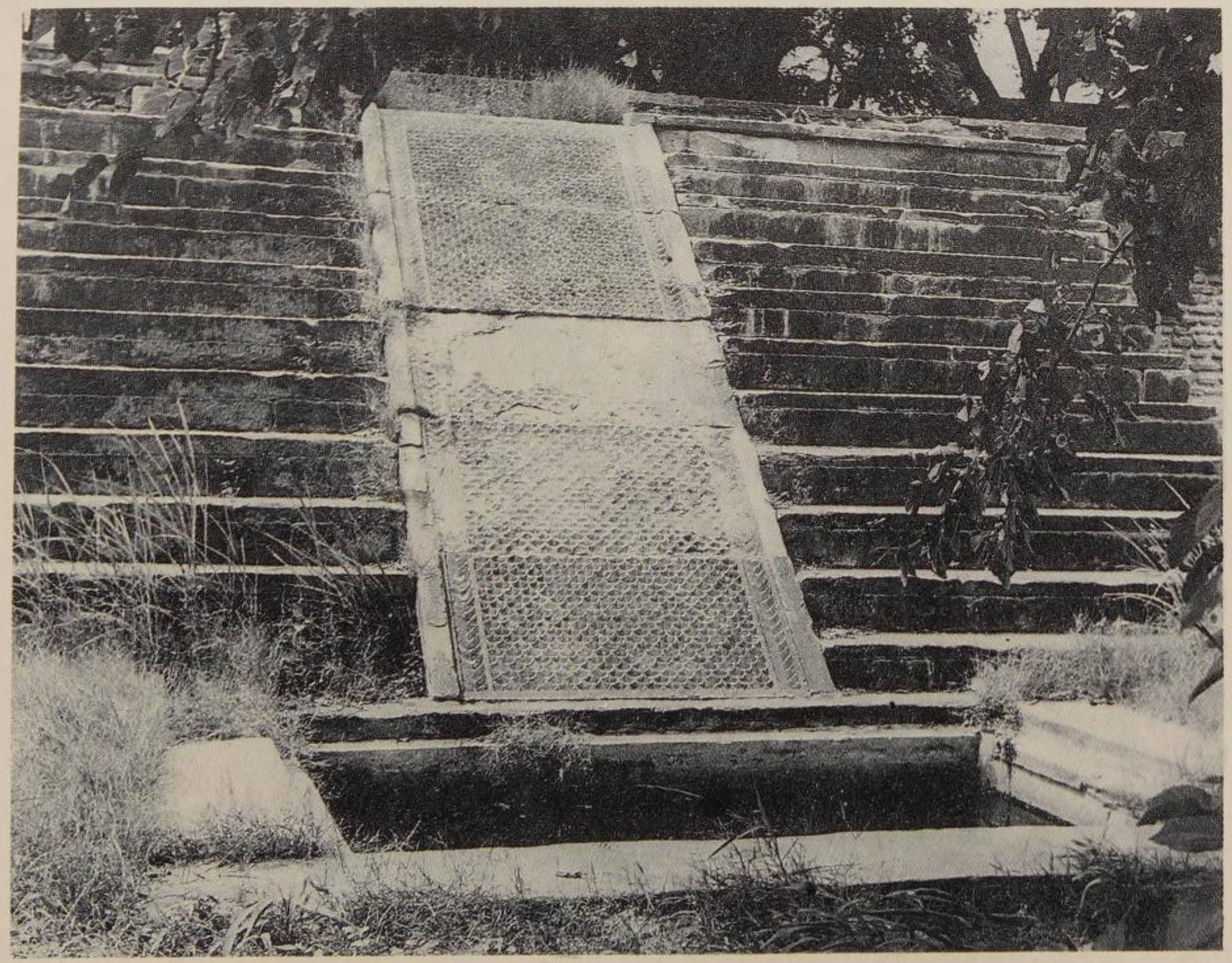

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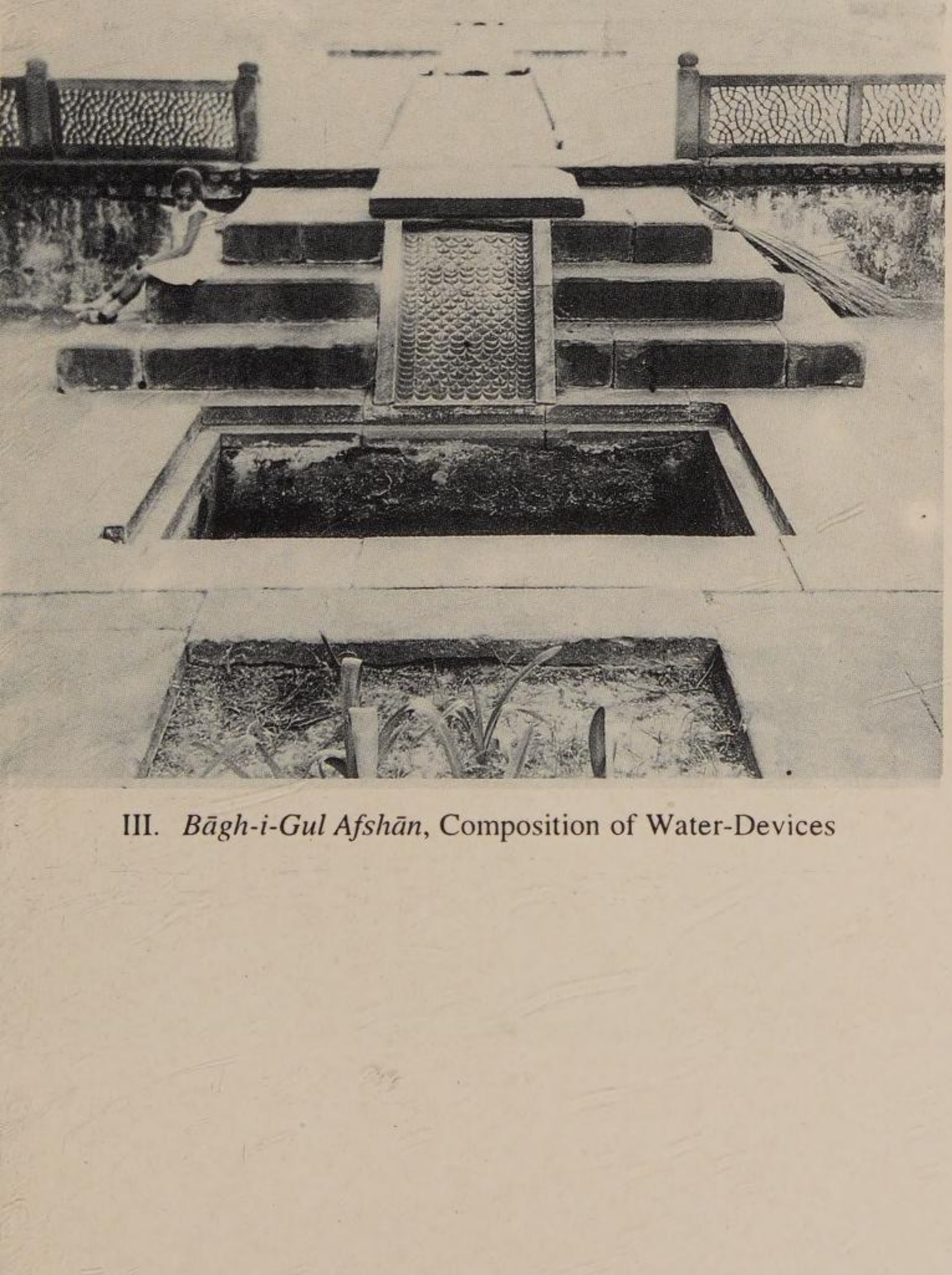

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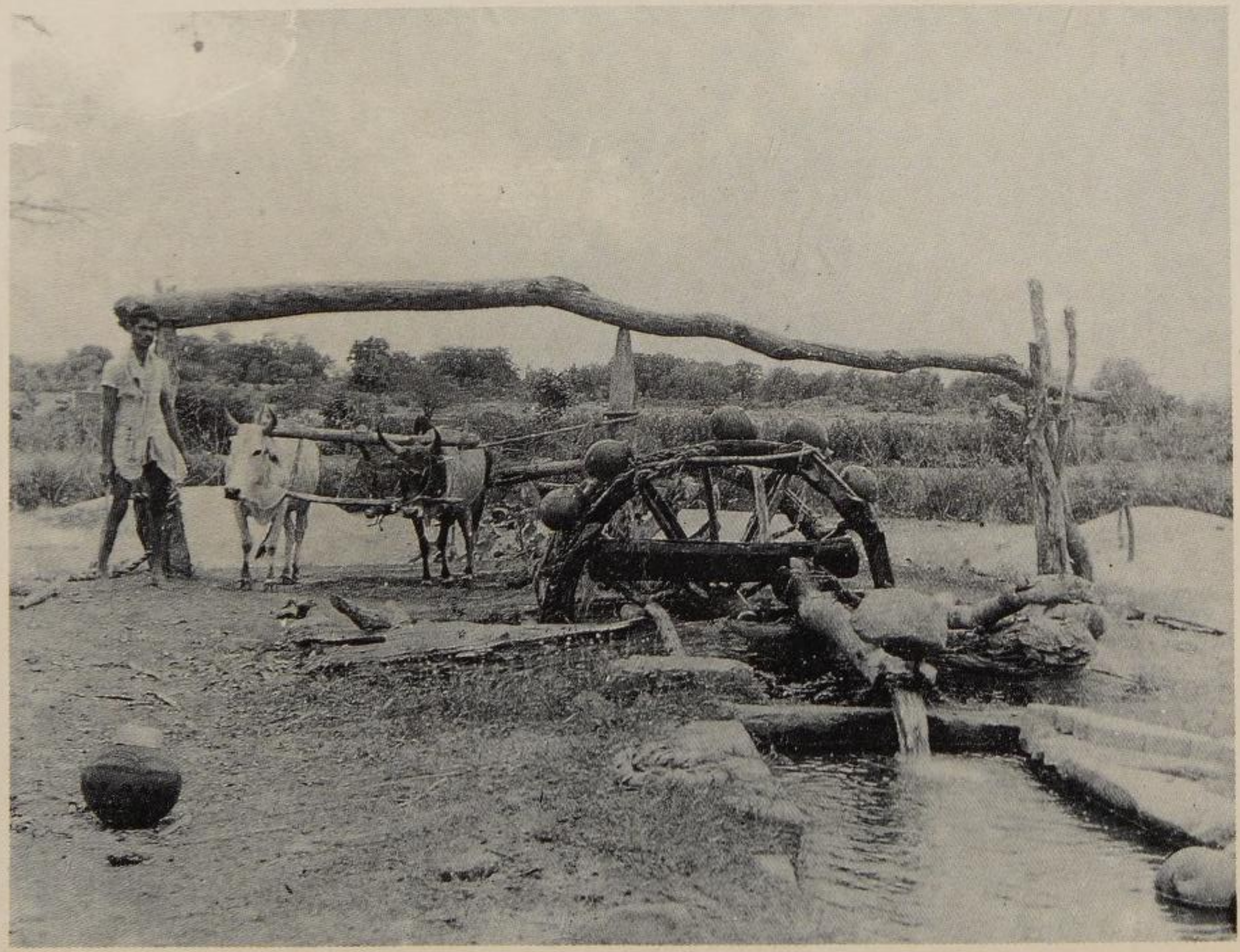

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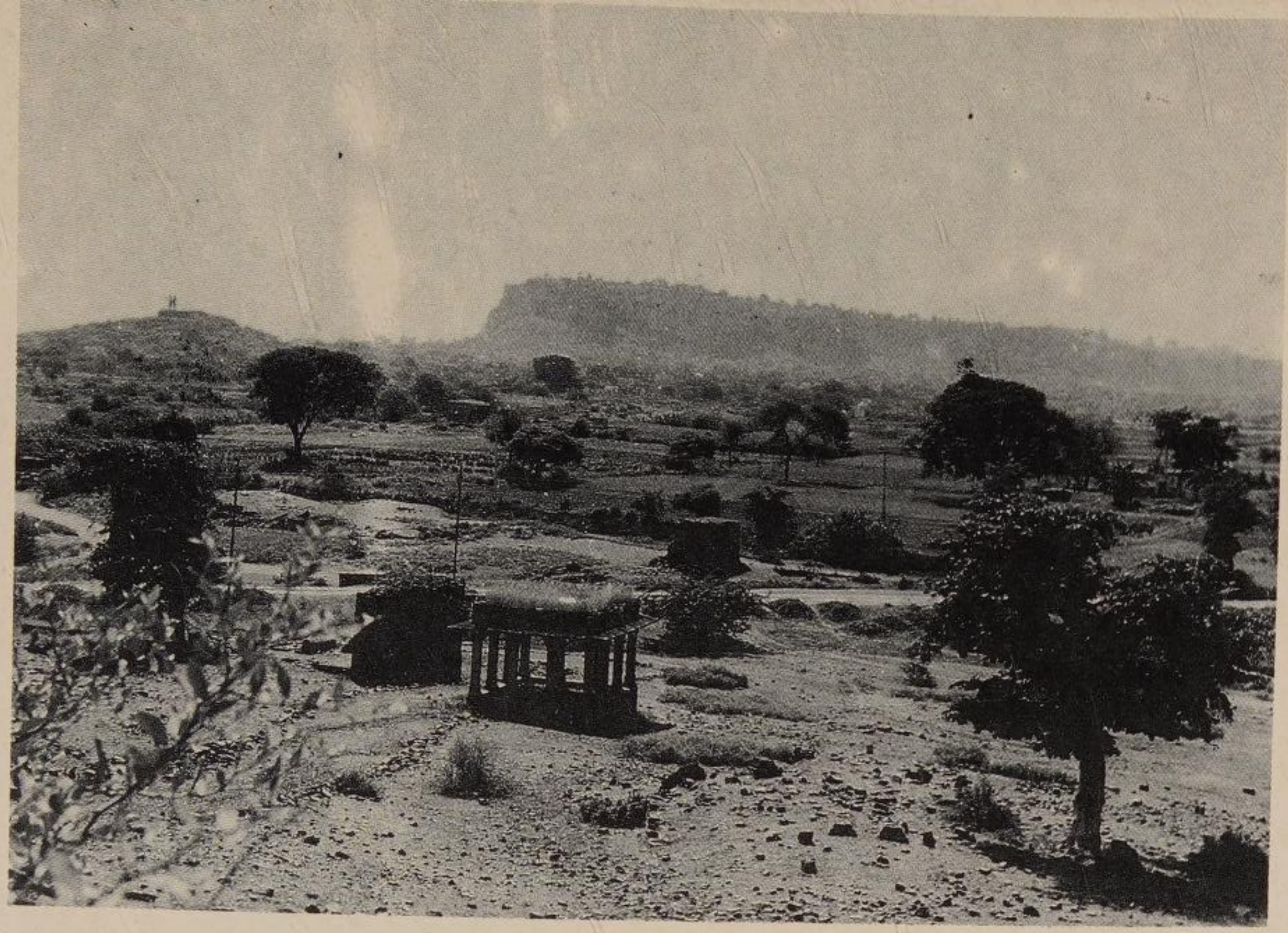

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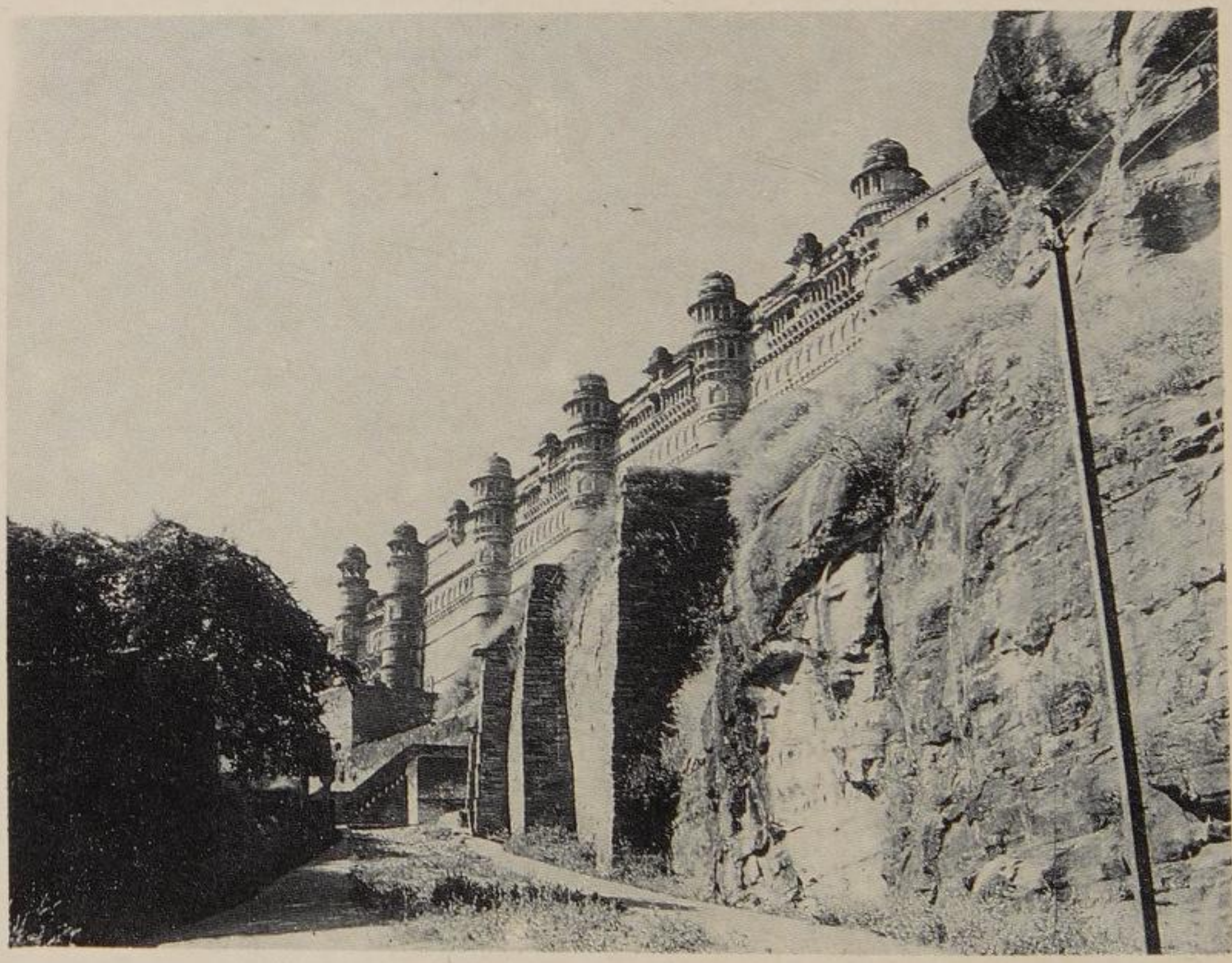

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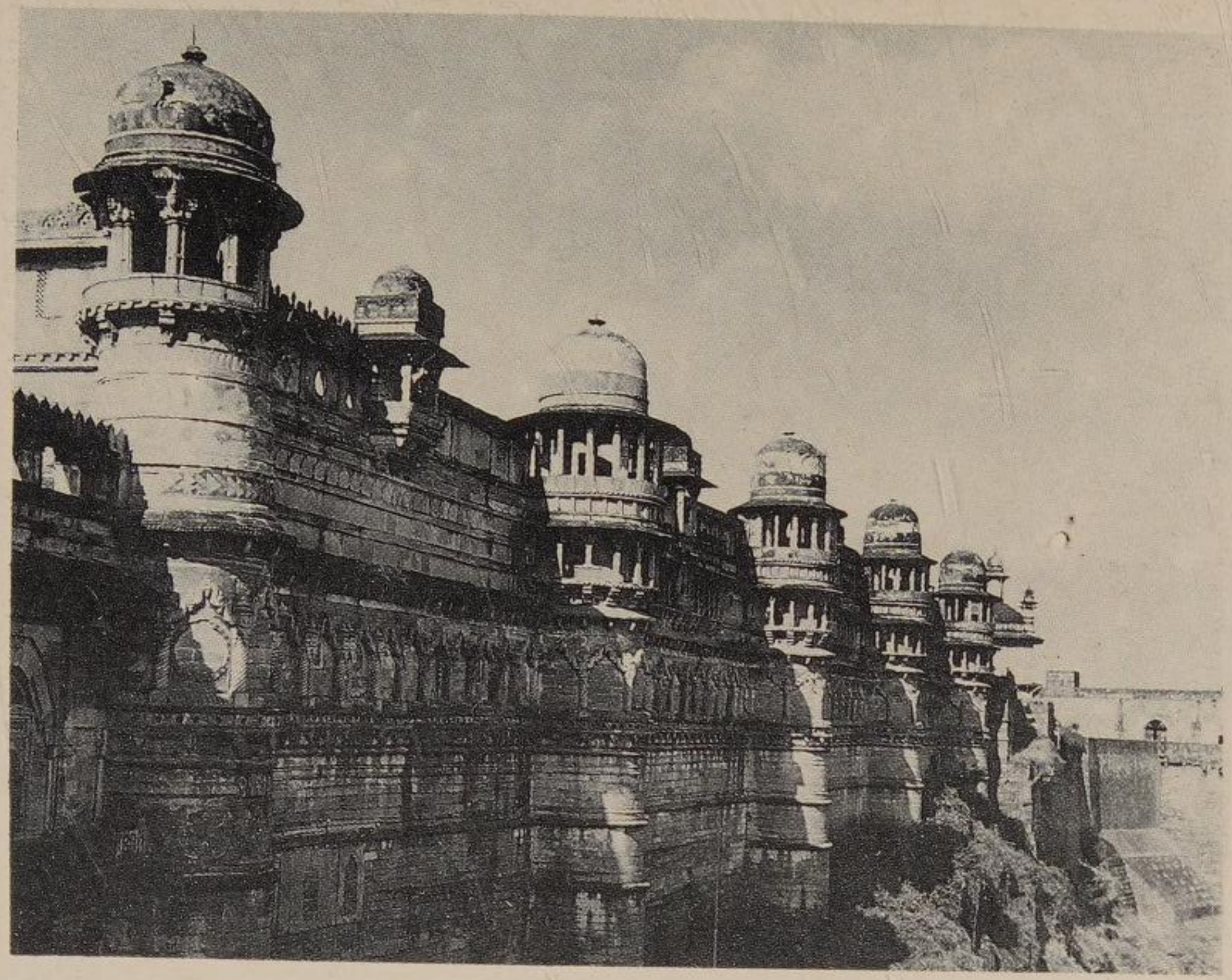

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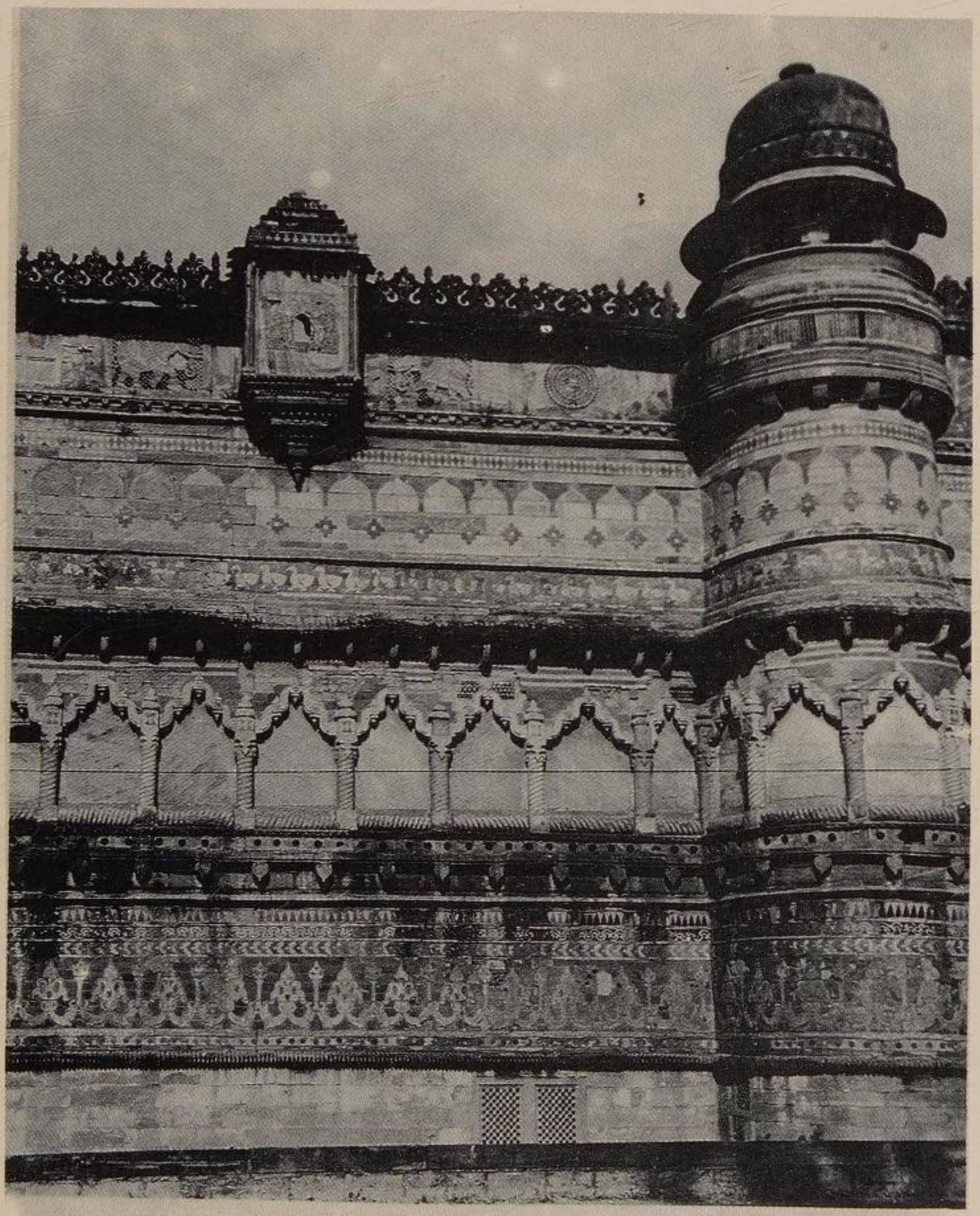

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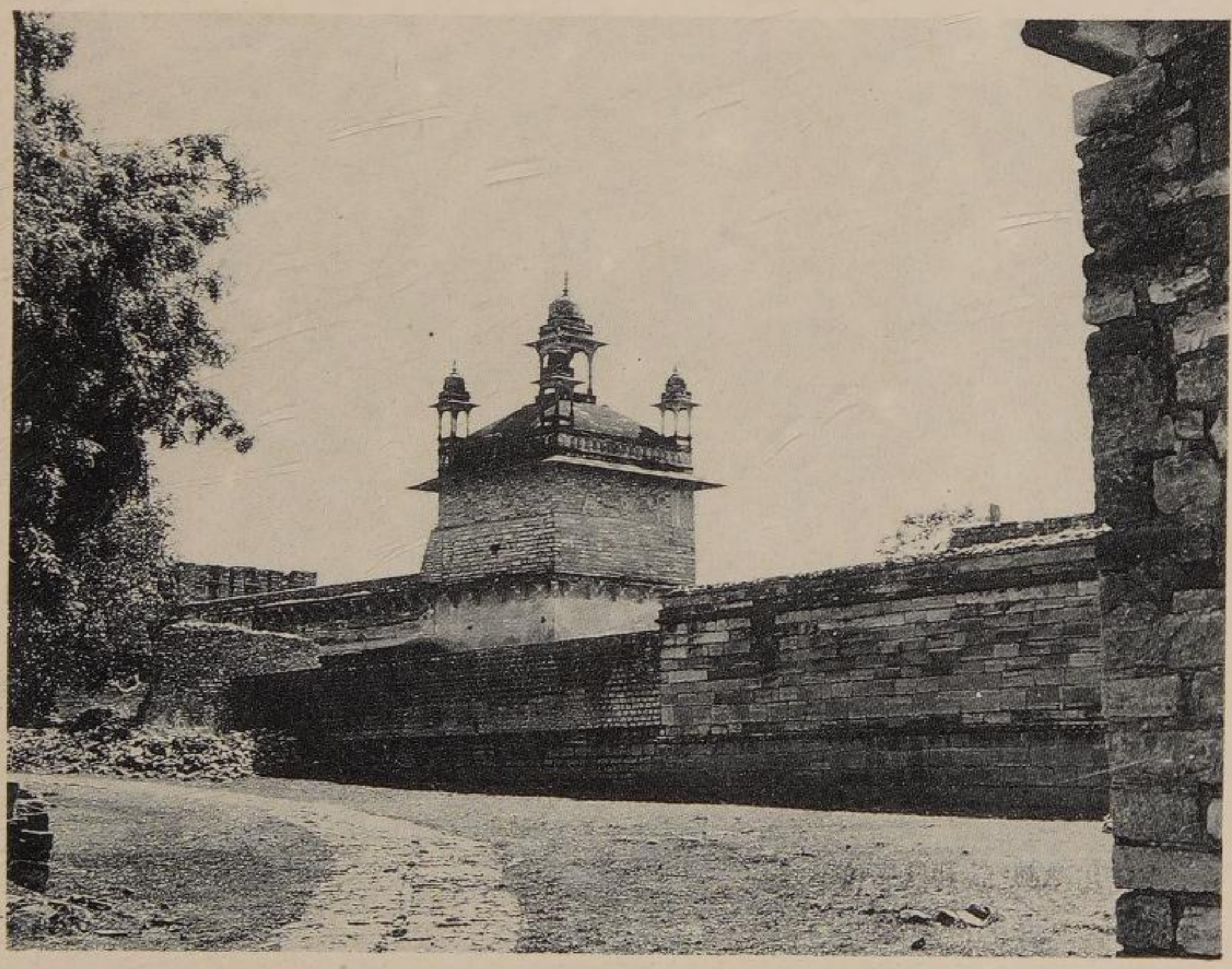

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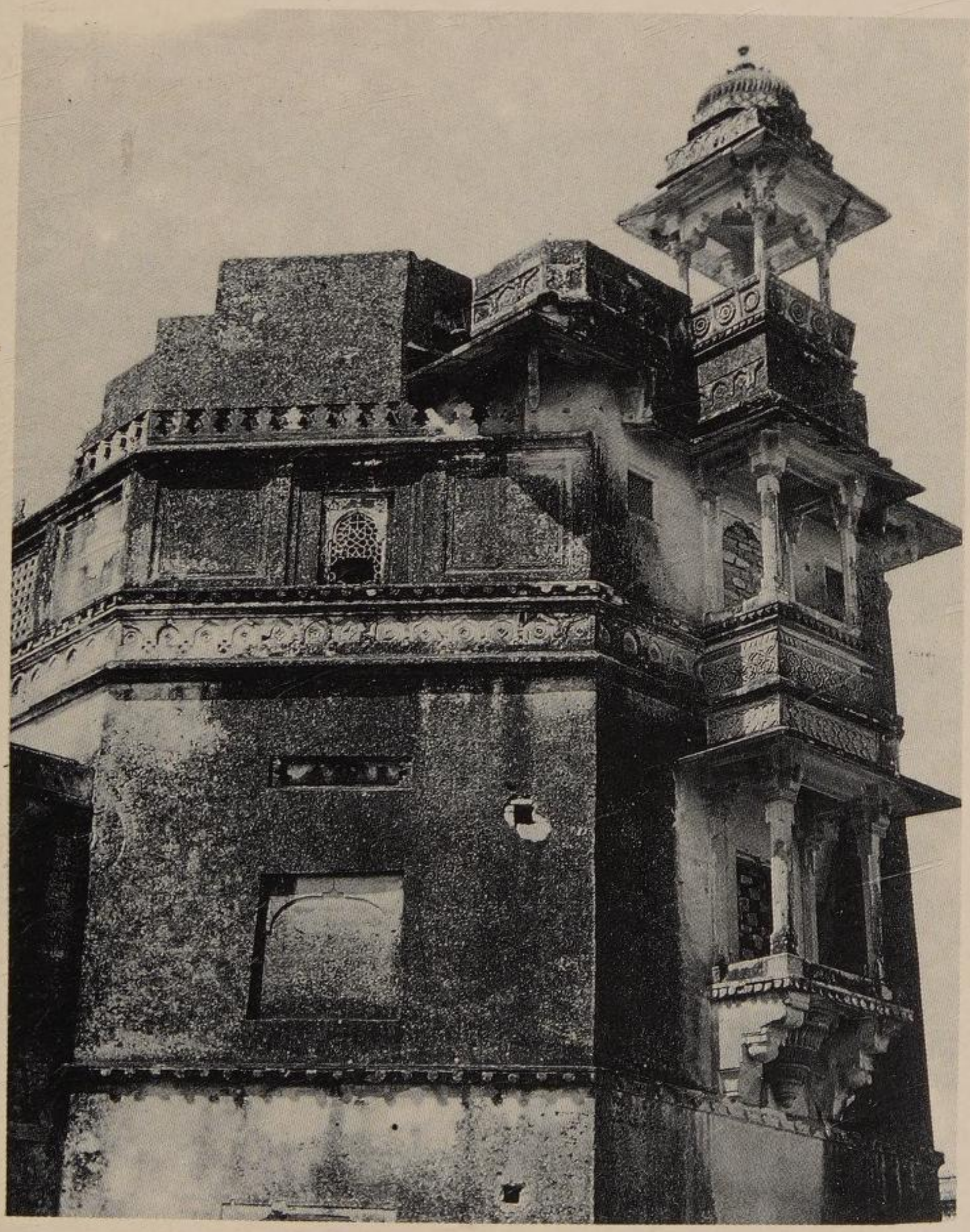

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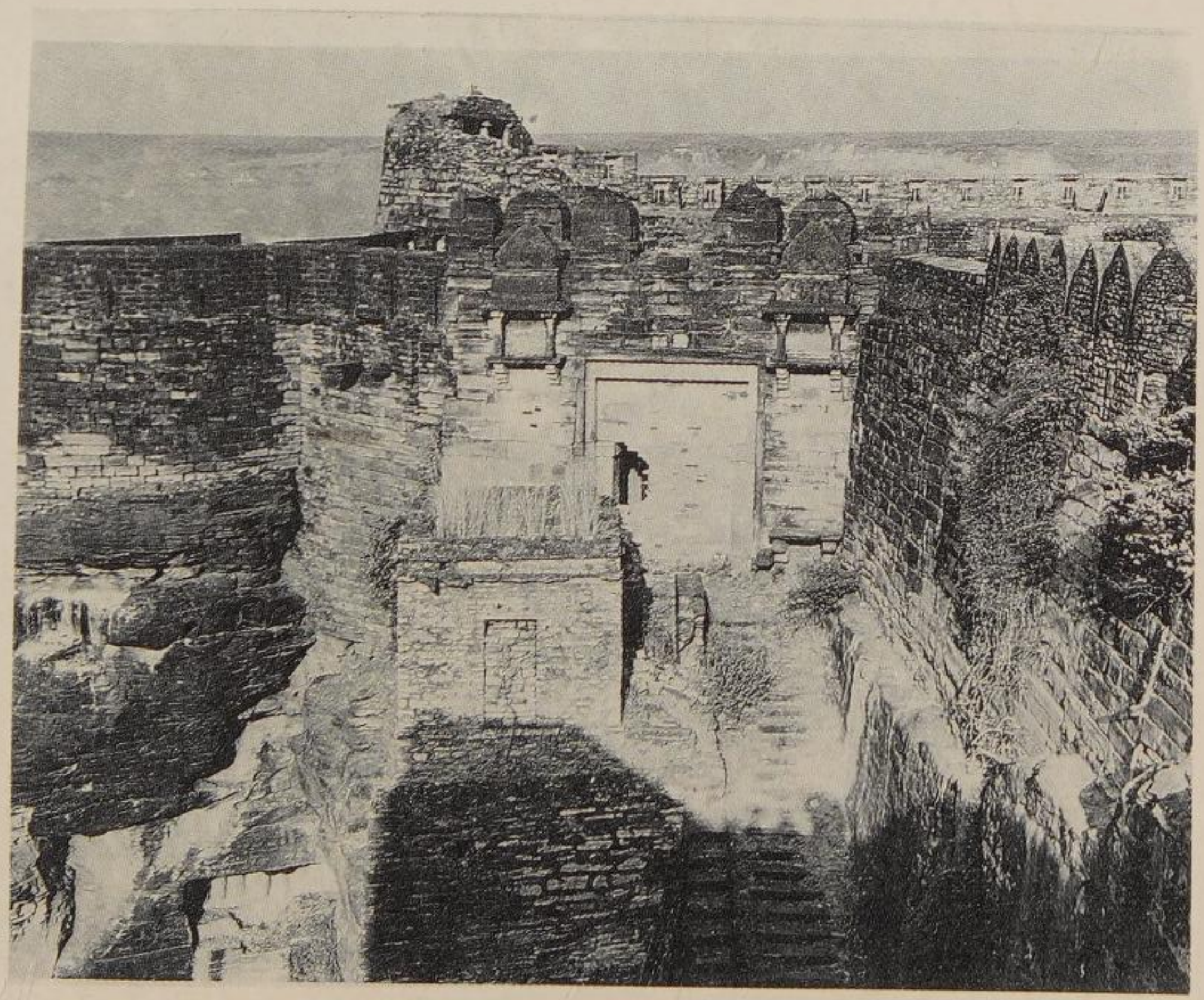

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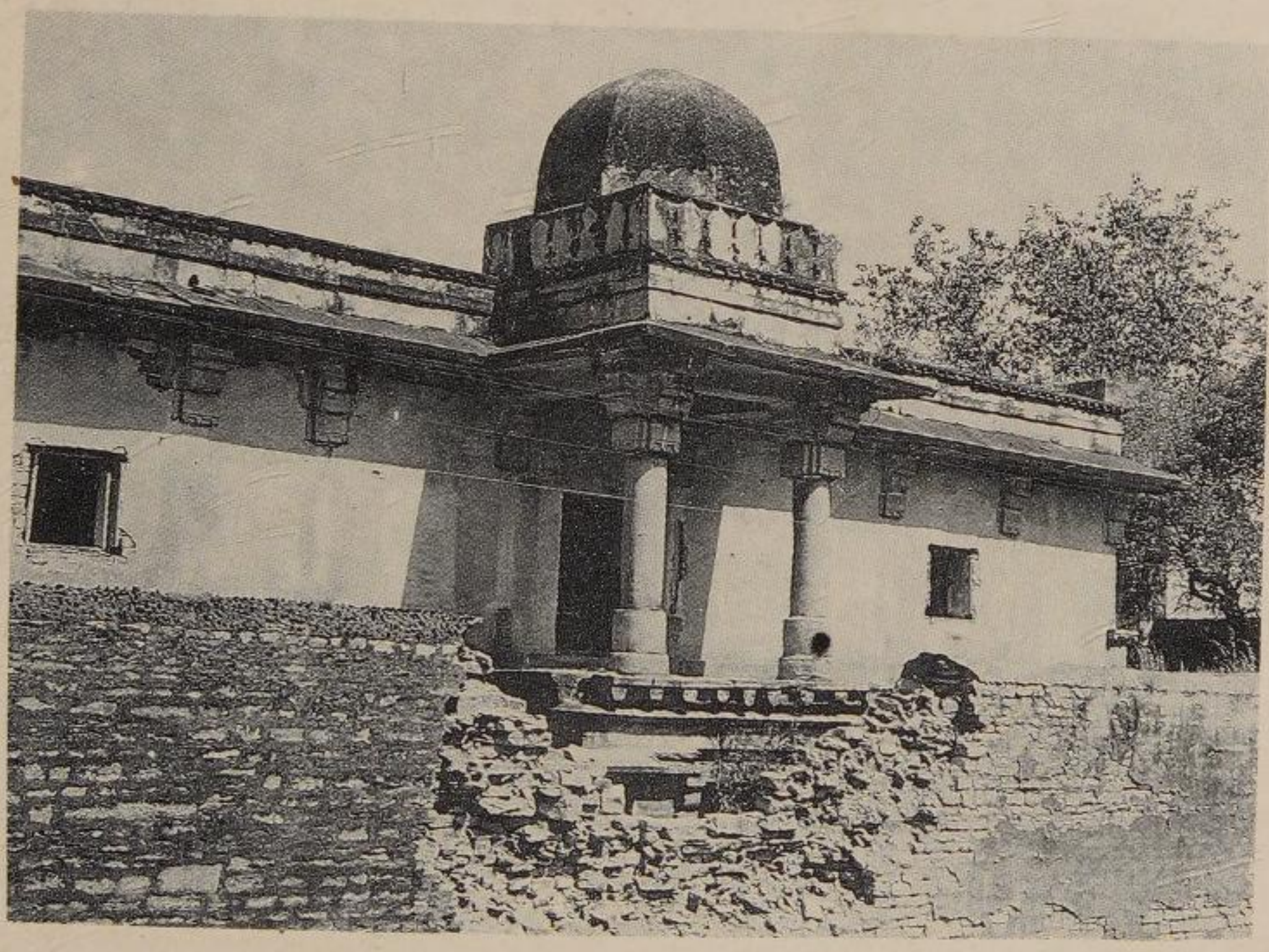

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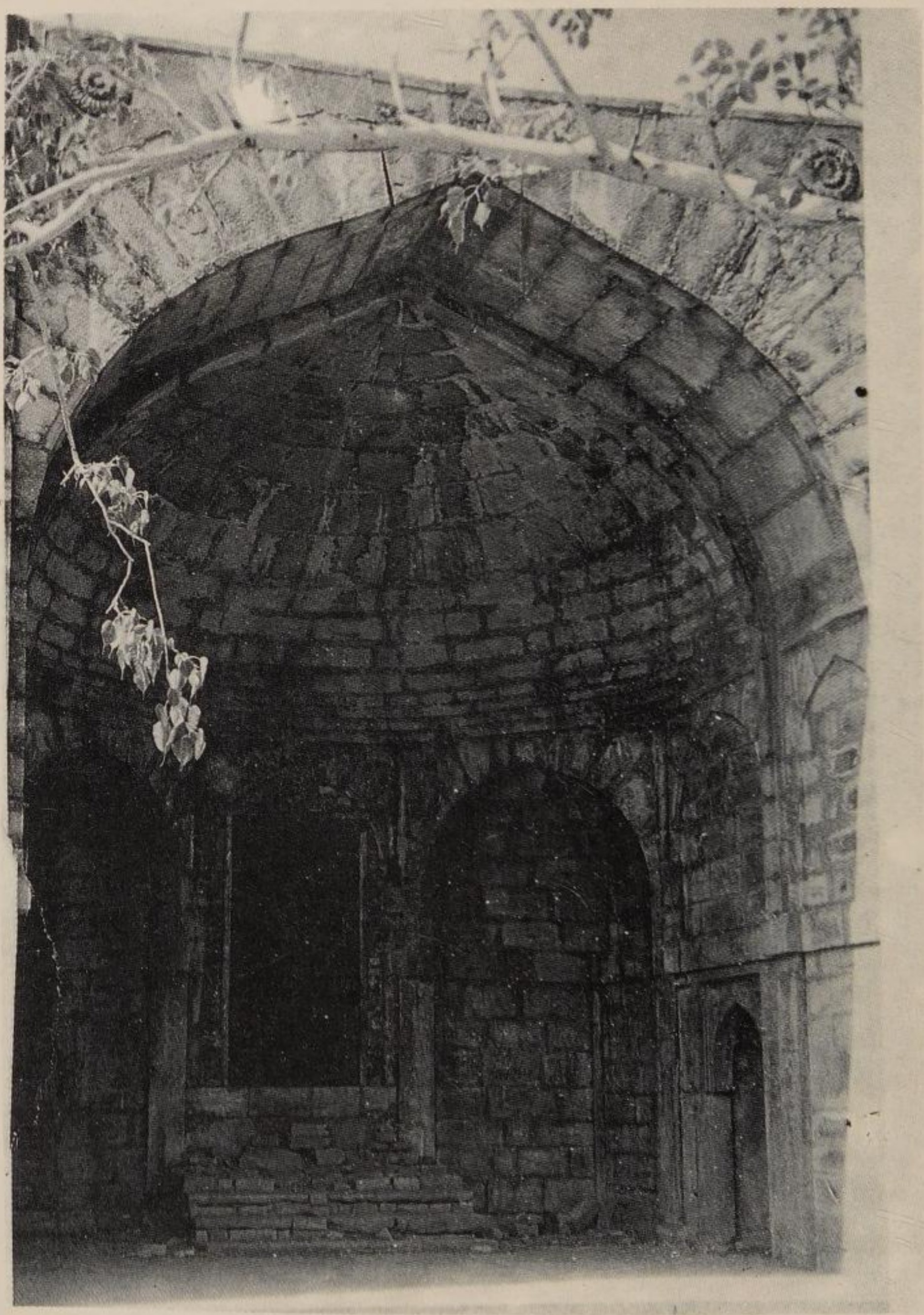

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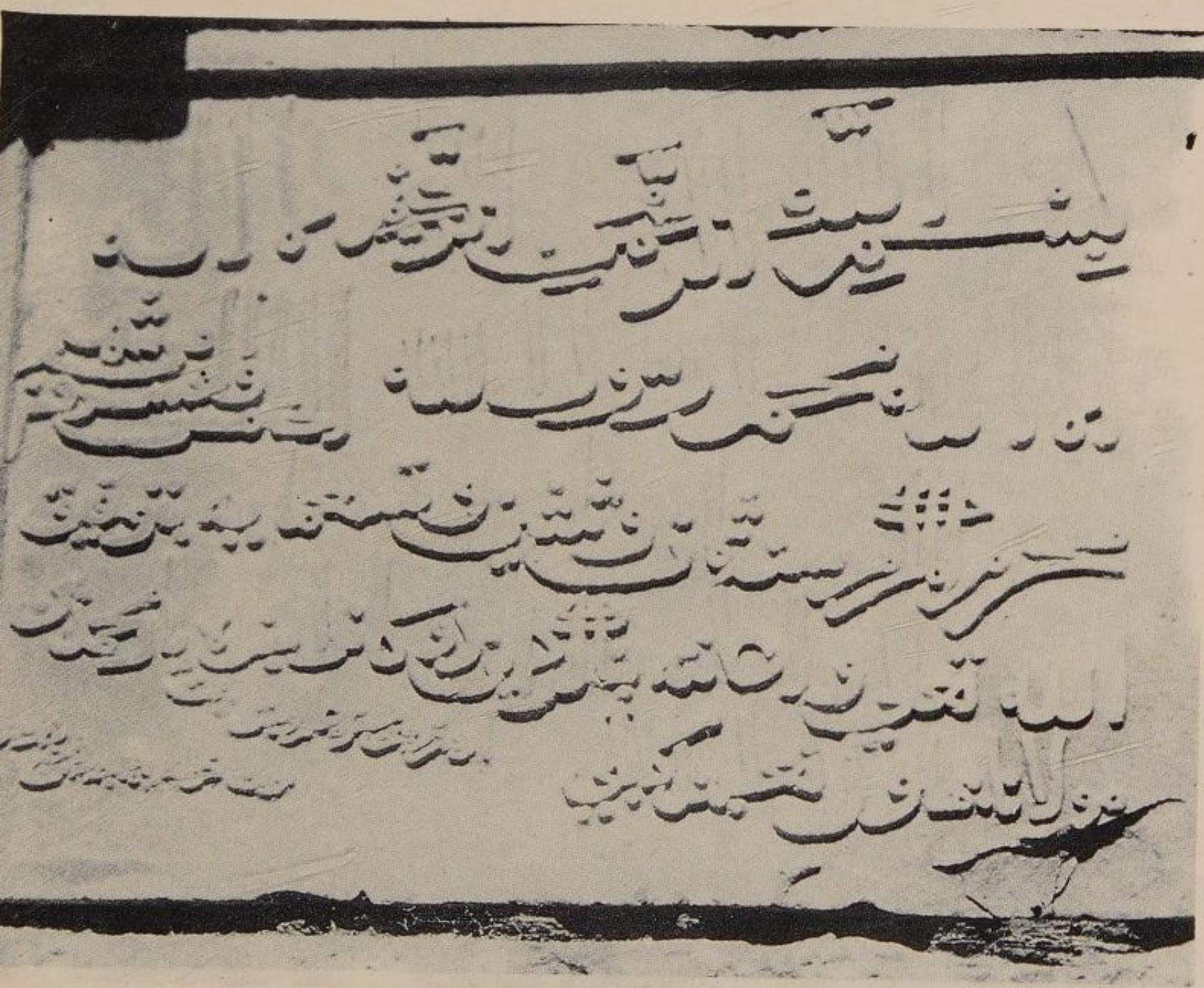

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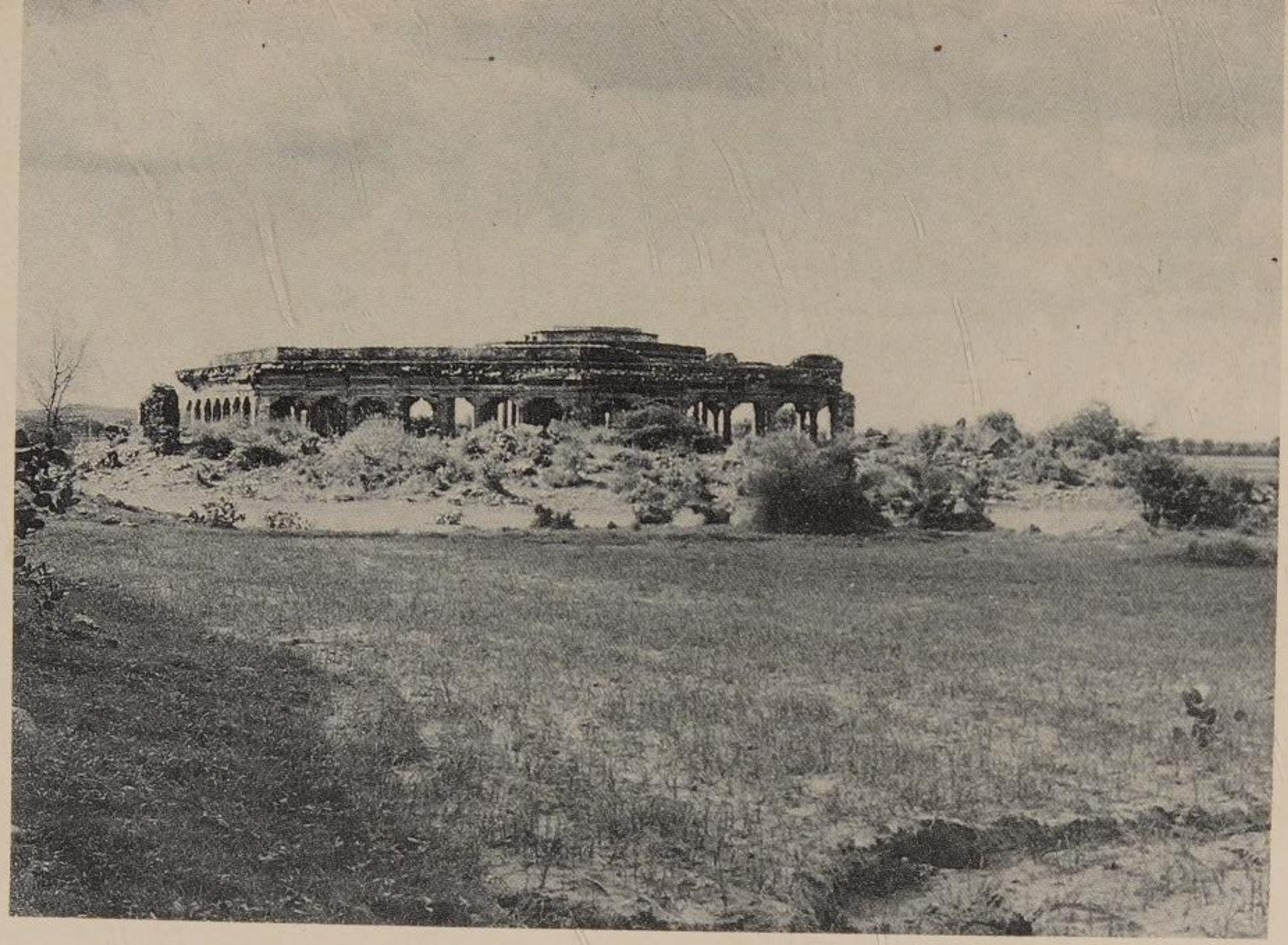

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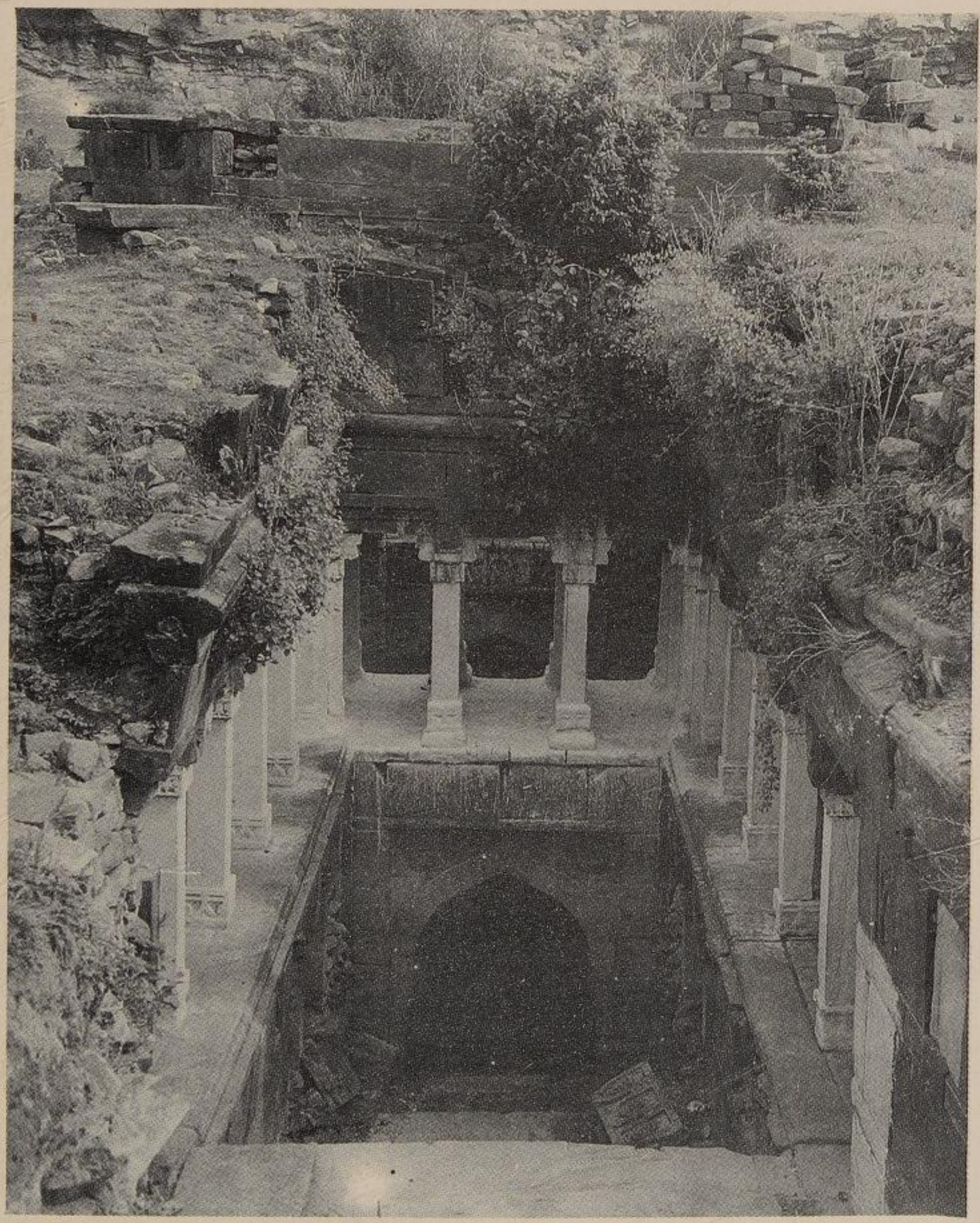

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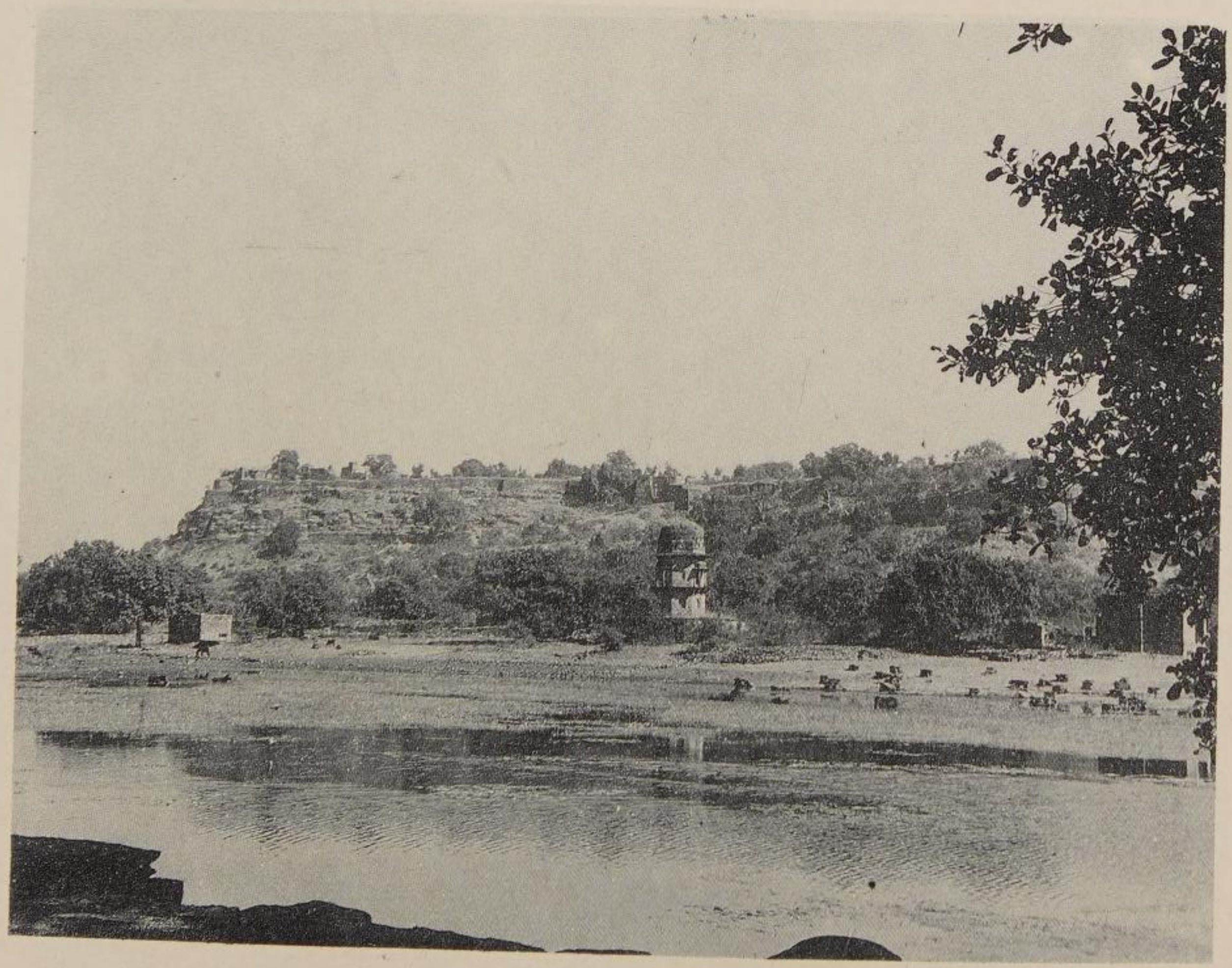

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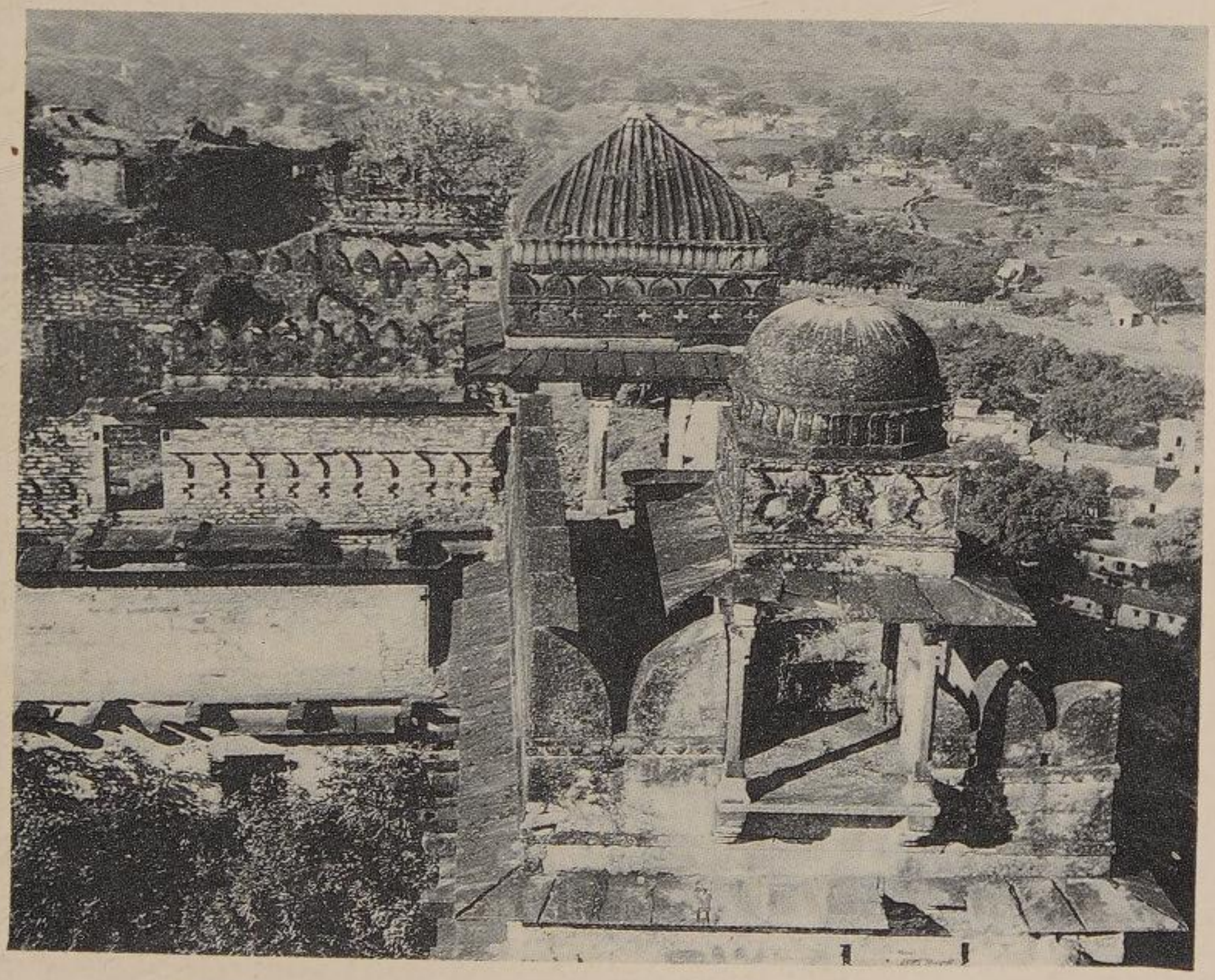

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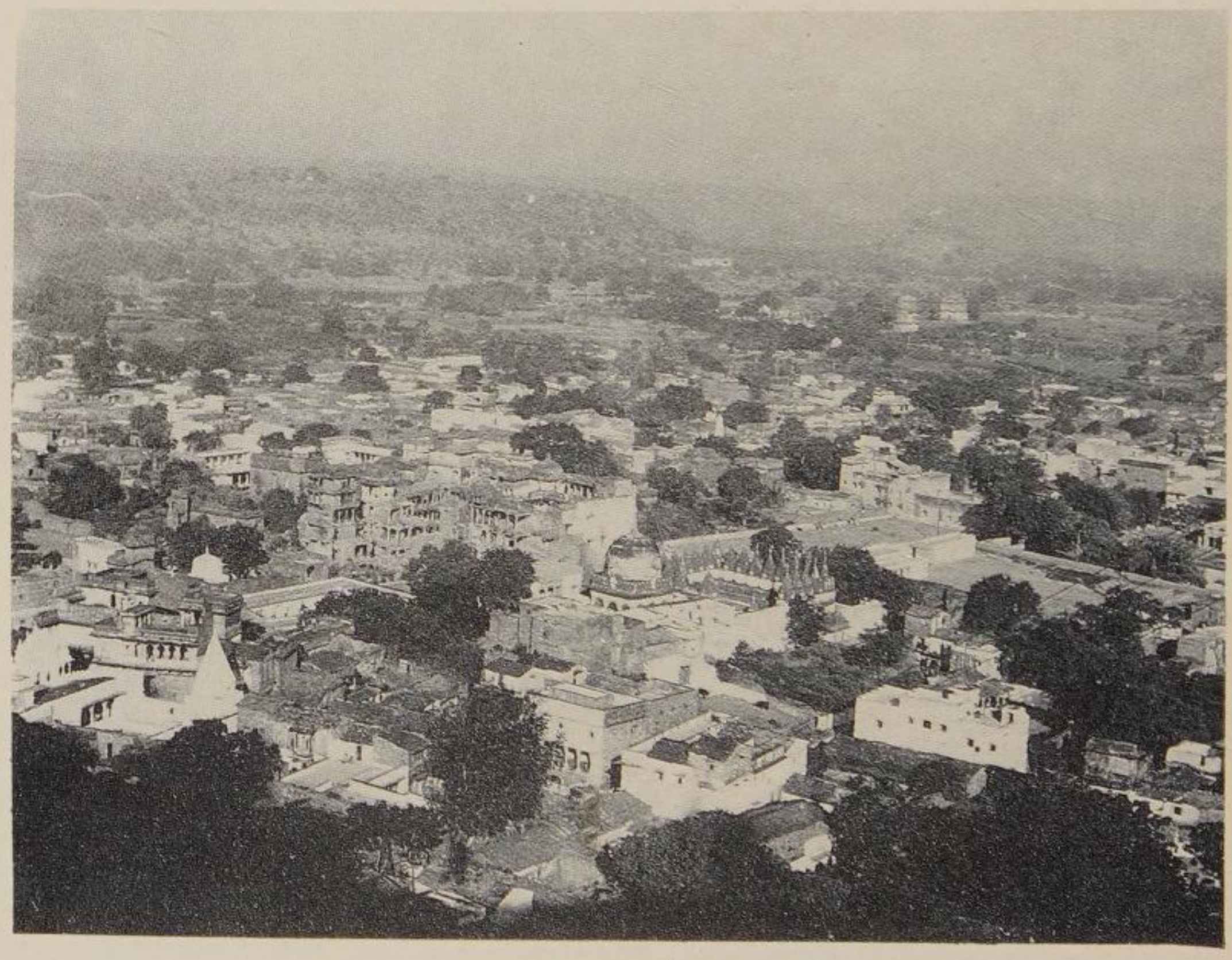


XXIV. View of Chanderi and its Environs

1

INTRODUCTION

Bābur: the Man

Zahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh (Bādshāh), Mīrānshāhī Tīmūrīd Barlās Turk was born on 6 Muḥarram 888 AH/14 February 1483 AD. His father 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā was the fourth son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mirzā who was the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā, son of Tīmūr Beg's third son Mīrān Shāh. His mother Qūtlūq Nigār Khānim was the second daughter of Yūnas Khān who descended from Chaghtāī Khān, the second son of Chīngīz Khān.[1] He was, thus, related on his father's side to Tīmūr (Tamerlane) and on his mother's to Chīngīz Khān (Tīmūjīn), the two great empire builders of the medieval Orient. After the death of his father 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā,[2] he ascended the throne of Farghanā, a small principality in Central Asia, in the twelfth year of his age, in the month of Ramaḍhān 899/June 1494 at the difficult time when his adversaries were casting covetous eyes at his tiny kingdom. This was the beginning of his turbulent career which was full of constant struggle and strife, and more defeats and debacles than victories and successes, until it closed at Agra on 6 Jumāda-I 937/26 December 1530 when he was only 47. A man of indefatigable courage and determination who refused to give up even in the face of severest odds, he possessed a lion's heart and literally lived up to the efficacy of his surname: '**Bābur**' (Lion-hearted).

He struggled hard against the Uzbegs, Chaghtāīs, Mughūls and Turks for nearly a decade and fought dangerous battles, some of which proved nearly disastrous to him. He captured Samarqand, the capital of his forefathers, a number of times but he could not retain it and finally, tired of the treacherous and elusive Central Asian politics, he moved on to Kābul, where too he struggled for more than two decades. Experienced and matured, now he could judge the things realistically and it was during this period that he made definite plans and preparations for the conquest of the '**Hindustān**' and found there a kingdom of his own.

We know him as a general and the founder of the great 'Mughal' Empire in India. But, in spite of his thirty-six years' ventures in war, he was essentially a **man of peace**: honest and graphic chronicler and author; poet; ardent lover of nature and maker of beautiful gardens;

artist; and, above all, humanist. Much of it he had inherited as a family trait and a great part of his personality had been built through his upbringing and early training in his father's household, and A.S. Beveridge, his able translator, was more than justified when she noted: ''Bābur's civilian aptitudes, whether of the author and penman, the maker of gardens, the artist, craftsman or sportsman, were nourished in a fertile soil of family tradition and example.''[3] The home milieu in which Bābur was brought up favoured high standards of life and culture, and excellence in fine arts. His mother Qūtlūq Nigār was a high born lady and a scholar's daughter who would give her children a refined taste and love of nature and arts. Her mother Aisān-Daulat and mother-in-law Shāh Sulṭān Begum, both accomplished and cultured ladies, would also help the young boy, through their deep affection and tender care, to grow in an atmosphere which would leave an unobliterable cultural impress upon his mind and make him what he was. Such scholars as Khwājah Ubaidullah Ahrārī also share the making of the man in Bābur. His father 'Umar was a passionate ''reader of great books, the *Qurān* and the *Mathnawī* being amongst his favourites'' and a skilled reciter. It was the cumulative influence of birth, environment and education that young Babur learnt to revere wisdom and virtue; admire fine arts: poetry, music and painting; and, above all, pine for **beauty**. This influence was so lasting that even thirty-six years' hard struggle with the realities of life could not erase or obscure it and Babur died as great an **aesthete** as the training had made him at an early age.[4]

By and large, he was a devout Sunnī Muslim who had absolute faith in the mercy of God. He was not a bigot, not even orthodox, and he maintained a liberal view towards fine arts and even admired figurative paintings and portraits, and he drank without any inhibition. He was not an iconoclast and his assumption of the title '*Ghāzī*' (Victor in the Holy War) was more for the sake of propaganda in the land of overwhelming non-believing subjects than expression of a theocratic polity.[5] It must be borne in mind that '*Jihād*' and expansion of Islām was not his objective even remotely and in India he just wanted to found an empire. There is absolutely no record to show that demolition of temples was ever a programme of any of his military expeditions.

He was a well-bred and a thoroughly civilized and disciplined man. He gave emphasis on good conduct and proper protocol (*Tahzīb* and *Akhlāq*) and wrote, several times, in the *Memoirs* in this connection: ''Though it has not divine authority so that a man obeys it of necessity, still **good rules of conduct** must be obeyed by

whomsoever they are left; just in the same way that, if a forefather have done ill, his ill must be changed for good.''[6] But he lived in the early 16th century in Central Asia among barbarous tribes which may be the reason why, at times, he is recorded to have behaved cruelly and savagely. Most reprehensible was his adherence to the **Tartari custom of raising pillars of human-heads** (of the vanquished enemies) as he did at Kohāt in 1504-5[7] and at Khānwāh in 1527.[8] This is in contradiction to his generally liberal and humane attitude. Perhaps, striking terror into the hearts of the people of conquered territory by such barbarous measures was the most effective means to bring and keep them into submission during the medieval ages.[9]

His Dynasty and the Misnomer

It must be noted that his dynasty which he founded in India is erroneously called '*Mughal*', '*Mughul*', '*Mogal*' or '*Mughūl*'. Throughout the *BN*, he has used this word in the sense of 'Mongol' race as different from his own, for example, in respect of the district of Qarshī he noted that ''Qarshī is a Mughūl name. In the Mughūl tongue, they call a *kur-khāna* Qarshī. The name must have come in after the rule of Chīnghīz Khān.''[10] **He despised the Mughūls** and almost always mentioned them with reproach and condemnation, for example, ''Mischief and devastation must always be expected from the Mughūl horde'' and rebellion was the Mughūl nature,[11] and, ''This is always the way with those ill-omened Mughūls. If they win, they grab at booty; if they lose, they unhorse and pilfer their own side.''[12] He referred to Mughūl caps, quivers, saddles, horses, and brand-named the things 'Mughūl' as distinguished from his own and he has used this word synonymously for the contemporary Mongol descendants of the region. The nomenclature 'Mughal' for his house would , therefore, be a misnomer, though it is difficult to agree with Beveridge who suggested that probably he wanted his clan to be denoted as 'Turk'.[13] He was something more than 'Turk'. Though it is technically correct to define his descent as Mīrānshāhī Tīmūrid, he may, more appropriately, be called a '**Chaghtāī Turk**'. But, realistically, the word 'Mughal' has been so frequently and popularly associated with, and attached to, his dynasty that it is now impossible to correct it.

His Assumption of the Title: 'Pādshāh'

It was in 913/1507, while he was at Kabul, that he assumed the title '*Pādshāh*'[14] which denoted not only his kingship and sovereignty but also his overlordship and supremacy in the region. Hitherto his title, as also of Tīmūr Beg's other descendants was, appropriately,

'Mirzā'.[15] His assumption of the title '*Pādshāh*' was a wise diplomatic move carried out at the most opportune moment as Beveridge enunciated:

> He was the only Tīmūrid ruler and man of achievement; he filled 'Ḥusain Bai-qārā's place of Tīmūrid headship; his actions through a long period show that he aimed at filling Tīmūr Beg's. There were those who did not admit his suzerainty—Tīmūrids who had rebelled, Mughūls who had helped them, and who would also have helped Sa'īd Khān Chaghtāī, if he had not refused to be treacherous to a benefactor; there were also the Arghūns, Chīngīz-Khānids of high pretensions. In old times the Mughūl Khāqāns were '*pādshāh*' (supreme); Pādshāh is recorded in history as the style of at least Satūq-Būghra Khān Pādshāh Ghāzī; no Tīmūrid had been lifted by his style above all Mirzās. When however Tīmūrids had the upper hand, Bābur's Tīmūrid grandfather Abū Sa'īd Mirzā asserted his *de facto* supremacy over Bābur's Chaghtāi grandfather Yūnas Khān. For Bābur to reassert that supremacy by assuming the Khāqān's style was highly opportune at this moment. To be Babur Supreme (*Pādshāh*) was to declare overlordship above Chaghtāī and Mughūl, as well as over all Mirzās. It was done when his sky had cleared; Mirzā Khān's rebellion was scotched; the Arghūns were defeated; he was the stronger for their lost possessions; his Auzbeg foe had removed to a less ominous distance; and Kābul was once more his own.'[16]

While 'Mirzā' was just a clannish title, denoting a local chieftainship, '*Pādshāh*' signified a Divine Kingship of a universal nature. It derived its inspiration from ancient polity. Etymologically it could have been derived from Sanskrit '*Pati*' but it is, in fact, connected with the Sassanian '*Patahshatari*'[17] and '*Shāh*' and '*Pādshāh*' are Persian concepts of a Divine Kingship. Babur's measure was, thus, a repudiation of the elective principle of the chieftainship which was then prevalent among the tribes of Central Asia and it proclaimed the institution of the headship of a state by virtue of birth and descent, by the grace of God. He thus prepared the ground for his grandson Akbar who raised the Mughal kingship to the status of a universal Divine institution.

Contemporary Nomadic Life

Babur seems to have lived mostly a nomadic life in **tents** of which he has mentioned a large number of types, for example, *chādar*

and *ālāchūq*[18] (*ālāchūq* =) tent of flexible poles, covered with felt, may be the '*khargāh* = '*kibitka*'; Persian '*chādar*' seems to represent Turki '*āq-awī*' = white house);[19] *aūtāgh* (lattice-tent);[20] *āq-awī* (*chādar*); *khargāh* (a folding tent on lattice-framework, perhaps a '*kibitka*');[21] *shāmiānā* (awning); *tūnglūq* (a flap in a tent-roof, allowing light and air to enter, or smoke to emit);[22] etc. There are other references which show that in the life of the Mirzās, Begs and other clans **tents** were largely in use, for example, when he went to meet Badī-uz-Zamān Mirzā, in 1506-7, he was received in an **Audience-tent** in which four '*dīvāns*' (*tūshuk*) had been placed.[23] He again referred to a life in tents when he went to meet Khadījā Begum[24] and Shāh Begum and Mihr-Nigār Khānim.[25] Shāh Beg and Muqīm were seated under a tent (awning) at Qandahār.[26] After the conquest of Qandahār (1507-8) when Babur returned to the **camp**, he was pleased with the booty which included ''tents of scarlet (cloth) and velvet, all sorts of awnings (*chandovās*)'' ..... *aūtāgh* and *chādar* (lattice-tent and pole-tent).[27] He captured Bājaur (1519) (on his way to Hindustān)[28] and stayed in the Māndlīsh-country. There he ''had a platform made with stones (*tāsh-bīla*) on a height in the middle of the valley, so large that it held the **tents of the advance-camp**. All the household and soldiers carried stones for it, one by one like ants.''[29]

His Addiction to Wine and Opium

Babur was addicted to '*araq* (wine) and '*ma'jūn*' (a confection or concoction of opium), and he used one or both regularly. There are innumerous references to this habit in his *Memoirs* and it would be enough to quote only a few examples to illustrate the point. Thus he noted:

> (5th March 1519) Next morning when the court rose, we rode out for an excursion, entered a boat and there drank '*araq*. The people of the party were Khwāja Dost-Khāwand, Khusrau, Mīrīm, Mirzā Qulī, Muḥammadī, Aḥmadī, Gadāī, Na'man, Langar Khān, Rauh-dam, Qāsim-i-'Alī, the opium-eater (*tariyākī*), Yūsuf-i-'Alī and Tīngrī-Qulī. Towards the head of the boat there was a *tālār* on the flat top of which I sat with a few people, a few others sitting below. There was a sitting-place also at the tail of the boat; there Muḥammadī, Gadāi and Na'man sat. '*Araq* was drunk till the Other Prayer when, disgusted by its bad flavour, by consent of those at the head of the boat, *ma'jūn* was preferred. Those at the other end, knowing nothing about our *majūn* drank '*araq* right through. At the bed-time prayer we rode

from the boat and got into camp late. Thinking I had been drinking '*araq*, Muḥammadī and Gadāī had said to one another, ''Let's do befitting service'', lifted a pitcher of '*araq* up to one another in turn on their horses, and came in saying with wonderful joviality and heartiness and speaking together, ''Through this dark night have we come carrying this pitcher in turns!'' Later on when they knew that the party was (now) meant to be otherwise and the hilarity to differ, that is to say, that (there would be that) of the *ma'jūn* band and that of the drinkers, they were must disturbed because never does a ma'jūn party go well with the drinking-party. Said I, ''Dont upset the party! Let those who wish to drink '*araq*, drink '*araq*; let those who wish to eat *ma'jūn*, eat *ma'jūn*. Let no one on either side make talk or allusion to the other.'' Some drank '*araq*, some ate *ma'jūn*, and for a time the party went on quite politely. Bābā Jān the *qabūz*-player had not been of our party (in the boat); we invited him when we reached the tents. He asked to drink '*araq*. We invited Tardi Muhammad *Qibchāq* also and made him a comrade of the drinkers. A *ma'jūn* party never goes well with an '*araq* or a wine-party; the drinkers began to make wild talk and chatter from all sides, mostly in allusion to *ma'jūn* and *ma'jūnīs*. Bābā Jān even, when drunk, said many wild things. The drinkers soon made Tardī Khān mad-drunk, by giving him one full bowl after another. Try as we did to keep things straight, nothing went well; there was much disgusting uproar; the party became intolerable and was broken up.''[30]

And :

(14 November 1519) On Saturday the 18th (*Zu'l-qa'da* 925 AH), I rode out of the Chārbāgh at midnight, sent night-watch and groom back, crossed Mullā Bābā's bridge, got out by the Diurin-narrows, round by the *bāzārs* and *kārez* of Qūsh-nādur, along the back of the Bear-House (*khirs-khāna*), and near sunrise reached Tardī Beg *Khāk-sār's kārez*. He ran out quickly on hearing of me. His shortness (*qālāshlīghī*) was known; I had taken 100 *shāhrukhīs* with me; I gave him these and told him to get wine and other things ready as I had a fancy for a private and unrestrained party. He went for wine towards Bih-zādī; I sent my horse by his slave to the valley-bottom and sat down on the slope behind the *kārez*. At the first watch (9 a.m.) Tardī Beg brought a pitcher of wine which we drank by turns. After him came Muḥammad-i-Qāsim *Barlās* and Shāh-Zāda who had got to know

of his fetching the wine, and had followed him, their minds quite empty of any thought about me. We invited them to the party. Said Tardī Beg, ''hul-Hul Anīga wishes to drink wine with you.'' Said I, ''For my part, I never saw a woman drink wine; invite her.'' We also invited Shāhī, a qalandar, and one of the *kārez*-men who played the rebeck. There was drinking till the evening prayer on the rising-ground behind the *kārez*; we then went into Tardī Beg's house and drank by lamp-light almost till the bed-time prayer. The party was quite free and unpretending. I lay down, the others went to another house and drank there till beat of drum (midnight). Hul-Hul Anīga came in and made me much disturbance; I got rid of her at last by flinging myself down as if drunk. It was in my mind to put people off their guard, and ride off alone to Astar-ghach, but it did not come off because they got to know. In the end, I rode away at beat of drum, after letting Tardī Beg and Shāh-Zāda know. We three mounted and made for Astar-ghach.''[31]

The *BN* shows that wine or opium was a regular feature of his life. Saturday, Sunday, Tuesday Wednesday were marked as '**drinking days**' when they (Babur and his associates) took wine, while ''on non-drinking days (Monday, Thursday and Friday), there were parties for *ma'jūn*''[32] which was a confection or concoction of opium. Babur was addicted to intoxication probably owing to his extremely hard life in the field and constant exertion on his body and strain on his mind. Without it, probably he could not sleep.

Babur: a Man of Arts and Letters

Left to himself in the company of his friends and wine, amidst beautiful natural environment, Babur was essentially a **poet** and a man of tender feelings. He is recorded to have composed a long poem of 2000 lines to which Abū'l Faḍl and Badāonī gave the name '*Mubīn*', though it must correctly be entitled: '*Dar-Fiqā'-Mubaiyān*' (or '*Fiqā'-i-Bāburī*')[33]. ''It is a versified and highly orthodox treatise on Muhammedan Law written for the instruction of Kāmrān''[34] (c.1519-20). He is, however, celebrated to have composed a large number of independent poems and at least two collections of his poems (*dīwāns*) are on record.[35] Perhaps, his personality was more dominated by his love for poetry and whenever there was an occasion, he expressed his feelings in verse. The *BN* is replete with quotations from his poems. One sometimes wonders if such a man: a wonderful poet and an author, could be a ruthless military-man too![36]

His fame as a literateur, however, rests on the *Bābur-Nāmah* which is as much his Diary, Autobiography and Memoirs, and for that matter an excellent work of History, as a work of good literature full of his keen study and observations of Man, Society and Civilization, more than the political and military matters, as it is. **He described nature**, for example, *rivers and mountains, fauna and flora of the countries which he visited, with a feeling, love and passion for it which only an aesthete could possess and the BN* shows that he could present his visual pictures in lively descriptions in the Turkī language, artfully.

The *BN* is also replete with important references to his taste for such fine arts as Architecture, Painting and Music. Thus, while describing Samarqand (1497-98), he mentioned a building which was called *Chīnī-Khānah* (Porcelain-House) ''because its *īzāra* are all of porcelain.''[37] Though Beveridge was not certain,[38] it was definitely a reference to '*dado*' which, made in 1497-98, is extremely important.

In the biographical sketch of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā, he described the Mirzā's artists along with his Amīrs, Chief Justices, Vazīrs, nobles and poets,[39] bestowing equal importance upon them. He mentioned Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad, ''the one standing out in *nakshtāliq*.'' His note on the Mirzā's painters shows that he was a good art-connoisseur:

> Of the **Painters**, one was **Bihzād** (well-born). His work was very dainty but he did not draw beardless faces well; he used greatly to lengthen the double chin (*ghab-ghab*); bearded faces he drew admirably. Shāh Muzaffar was another; he painted dainty **portraits**, representing the hair very daintily. Short life was granted him; he left the world when on his upward way to fame.[40]

This critique made by Babur in 1505-6, in fact, set an ideal precedence for the great art activity under his worthy grandson Akbar's reign. He described the **musicians** (lutanists, flautists and guitarists) of the Mirza's court in the same sequence.[41].

There is an important **architectural description** in his *Memoirs* in the narrative of Herī (Herāt) when he went to see Muzaffar Mirzā:

> Muzaffar Mirzā took me to where there was a wine-party, in the *Tarab-Khāna* (Joy-House) built by Bābur Mirzā, a sweet little abode, a smallish, two-storeyed house in the middle of a smallish garden. Great pains have been taken with its upper storey; this has a retreat (*ḥujra*) in each of its four corners, the space between each two retreats being like a *shāh-nishīn*; in between these retreats (*ḥujras*) and *shāh-nishīns* is one large room on all sides of which are **pictures** which, although Bābur Mirzā built the

house, were commanded by Abū Sa'īd Mirzā and depict his own *wars and encounters.*[42]

This description of the plan of the upper storey of the house (situated in a garden) in Herāt where Babur was received by the Mirzās (in 1506) is very interesting (see Fig. 1 for Plan). This shows that in between the corners (and in the middle of each side), there was a *jharokhā*-window or balcony, overlooking the garden below and so situated as to enable the ruler to show himself to his people. He called it *shāh-nishīn* which denotes that it was for the use of the 'King'. Babur's record that *dīwāns* were placed in the *shāh-nishīns*[43] indicates that it was a spacious building, a *bārahdarī* or a *chaukhaṇḍī*. The rooms situated in between the corner *ḥujras* and the central *jharokhās* were bearing figurative paints depicting battle scenes. This is the first reference to **Mughal mural painting**, preceding the Fatehpur Sikri mural paintings by nearly seven decades. This too is an extremely significant reference.

Babur had an inherent taste for architecture and even in the brief period of four years (1526-30) during which he held his sway in the Jamuna-Chambal region, he commissioned a large number of buildings at Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Dholpur, Gwalior, Bayana and Koil (Aligarh), upon which he has recorded to have employed 1491 stone-cutters daily.[44] While he had no say in the construction of the mosques at Sambhal, Panipat, Rohtak, Palam, Pilkhuwa, Maham, Sonepat and Ayodhya which were built contemporarily in the preceding building style of the Lodis, his own buildings, viz, palatial mansions and garden pavilions, were raised in the style which was gradually evolving in the Jamuna-Chambal region and which he admired. The **Jal-Mahal** at Fatehpur Sikri is the most representative building of Babur which has come down to us.[45]

Garden-craft was, however, his greatest contribution to the life and culture of the country which he finally adopted for his home and grave. He had inherited and idealized the Persian tradition of **terraced**-garden laid out, on every terrace, on the *chār-bāgh* or *chahār-bāgh* (four-quartered) plan, under which the garden, on every terrace was worked out in a regular arrangement of four squares, often sub-divided into smaller plots, with a lily-pond (or lotus-pool) or pleasure-pavilion in the centre. Four shallow canals flowed at right angles from the central pool to the middle of the four sides. Flower-parterres and cypress-avenues bordered these canals. The Persians adored the **cypress** and the plane (*Chenār*) trees the most. Cypress, the evergreen tree. was an ancient symbol of immortality and

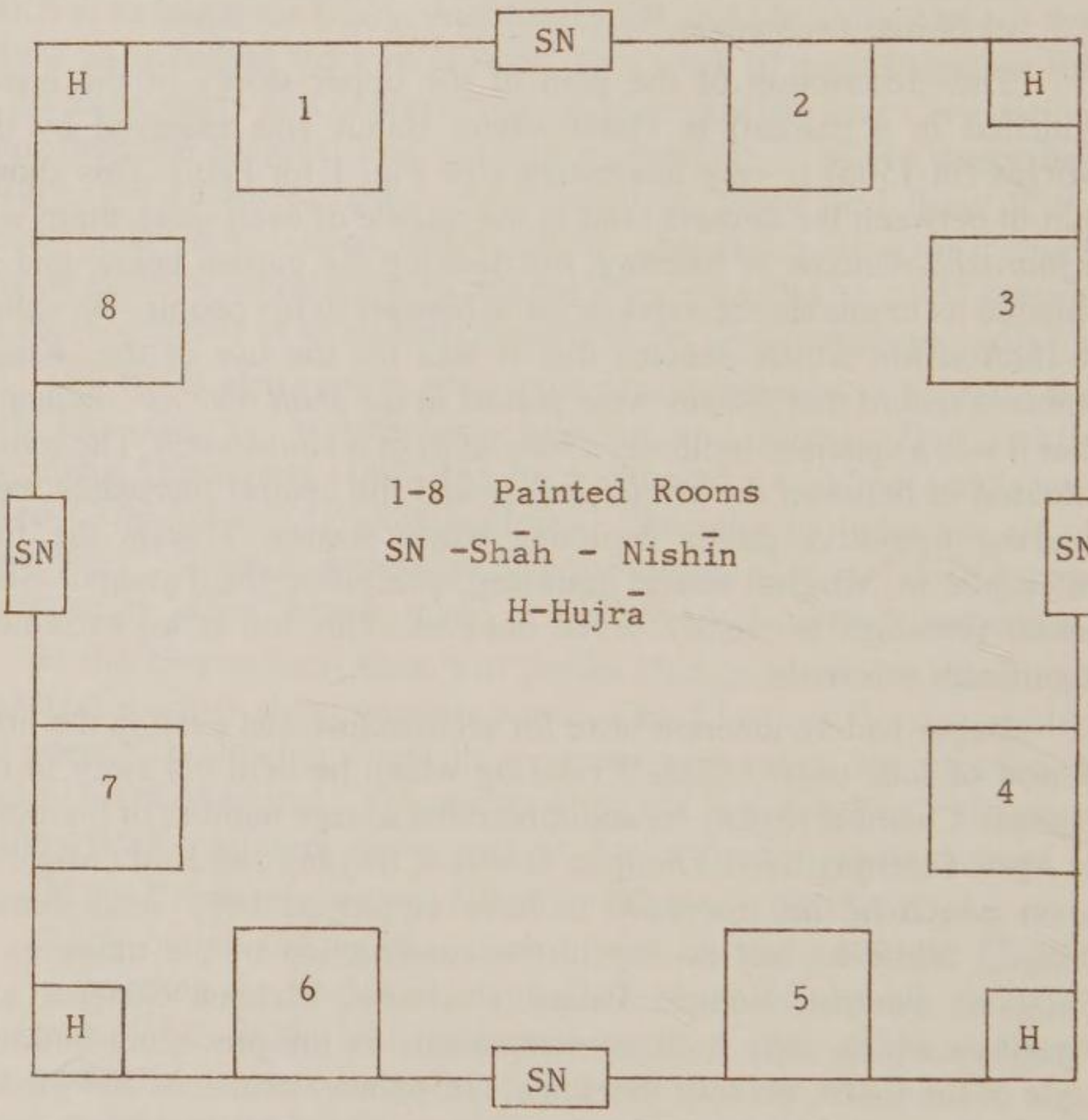


Fig. 1 : Plan of the Tarab-Khānah of Herāt (c. 1506 AD)

it was frequently depicted in Persian art and literature. Plane is liked for its cool and refreshing shade.[46]

Persian garden was essentially a terraced garden—a garden in descending stages, with the life-giving water as one of the principal adornments as well as the very life and soul, the *raison d'etre* of the garden itself. Water was manipulated beautifully in canals, jets of water, waterfalls, cascade, ponds and lakes. Canals and tanks were so constructed as to keep the water brimming to the level of the paths on either side. The shallow water-courses were paved with brilliant blue tiles. Each terrace had a *chār-bāgh* or four-quartered plan with stone-paved paths, flower-beds, cypress-avenues and other ornamental features.

Babur was fully conversant with these traditions of gardening. He conquered Samarqand a number of times and he has mentioned its beautiful gardens, for example, the **Perfect-Garden, Heart-Delighting Garden, Garden of the Plane, Chahār-Bāgh** of Dervish Muḥammad Terkhān and others, in his Memoirs. Though he could not maintain his hold against the invincible Uzbeks and lost Samarqand to them, it left a permanent imprint upon his mind. The great nature-lover as he was, he was deeply struck by the inherent beauty of its terraced gardens. It was on this pattern that he founded *Bāgh-i-Vafā* or the Garden of Fidelity at Kabul in 1508.

He gave particular stress on the provision of running water which he made available in abundance everywhere he laid out a garden. In *Bāgh-i-Kalān* at Kabul his attention was "turned to its perennial stream which flowed through the garden in a winding course; by altering this course to a regular one, he considered that the beauty of the garden was much enhanced...along other streams Babur ordered water-courses straightened, fountains built, and circular platforms established for sitting in the open air."

Other similar gardens which he founded at Kabul were *Bāgh-i-Banafshā* (The Garden of Violets); *Bāgh-i-Padshāhī* (The Imperial Garden) and *Bāgh-i-Chenār* (The Garden of Plane Trees). No doubt, he was imbued with Persian and Central Asian traditions of the art of garden laying but his extraordinary love for gardens, flowers and flowing water was a personal characteristic too. Idealism was probably a dynastic trait of the Chaghtāīs and the sheer hardships which Babur had to bear throughout his turbulent career could not harden it in him. Of and on, we find him enjoying a beautiful landscape or a Persian poem over a cup of wine. At Agra, he devoted more time in laying

gardens and water-devices than on reorganizing his revenue and the administrative system which, in fact, needed greater attention. To call him **The Prince of Gardens** would not, therefore, be an exaggeration.

It was owing to the lack of hillside and a natural stream that he was so reproachful in his description of the river-bank at Agra. A man of iron will and indefatigable determination, however, he was not disappointed, and laid out a garden, viz, the *Bāgh-i-Gul-Afshān* (later renamed *Bāgh-i-Nūr-Afshān* by Jehāngīr, and now called Rām-Bāgh) in four descending terraces fulfilling all the necessary conditions and containing all the resultant beauties of a terraced garden (Plates I - III). Its main terrace has eight raised platforms in symbolic imitation of the Bāgh-i-Hasht-Bihisht or the Garden of Eight Paradises. He also founded a full-fledged *Bagh-i-Hasht-Bihisht* at Agra in imitation of its counterpart at Tabriz, and another magnificent garden *Bāgh-i-Zar-Afshān.* He founded *Bāgh-i-Nīlūfar* or Lotus-Garden at Dholpur and *Fateḥ-Bāgh* at Fatehpur Sikri. This way Babur introduced a marvellous tradition of garden-craft in India which was based on the fundamental principle of planning of some pleasure pavilion, residential place or tomb in harmonious relation to the water-devices—canals, tanks, water-chutes and fountains—and in equally harmonious relation to the tree-avenues and flower-beds.[46A]

It was the **beautiful** which fascinated Babur more than a hieratic prescription or a spiritual conviction. He laid down gardens systematically and provided them with running water in a variety of different beautiful ways with continuous water-supply in every nook and corner. It was in the midst of such gardens that he built his palatial mansions and pleasure pavilions. This way Babur made an epoch-making innovation; he gave the medieval architecture a new direction and, undoubtedly, a new definition and impressiveness. In a way, **he revolutionized the whole art of building**. Henceforward, it was not the architect alone who planned; the garden designer and the water-engineer collaborated with him at every stage of planning and execution, with the object of coordinating each element to bring about a unified composition. The Mughal residential or sepulchral building did not stand in stern isolation like its Sultanate counterpart to present some of the most repulsive sights in such a tropical climate as that of India, but was presented through the garden, the stone-paved water-channels, stone tanks and water-chutes—all arranged as integral part of the whole scheme. **Architecture** had been rarely associated with garden, water-devices or landscape in the way the Mughals did it. The credit for this master-stroke in the art of building for bringing totality

of considerations goes to Babur who, moved by the ethereal effect of the Persian garden or the *chār-bāgh* which he personally saw during his turbulent career after his flight from Samarqand and of which he read in the Persian poetry, for example, of Firdausī, Sa'ādī, Hāfiz, Khayyām and Niẓāmī, gave expression to his ideals of the beautiful in the most impressive way. **Formal garden** is his greatest contribution to Indian Art.

Non-availability of hill-side and a perennial stream and hot and dry climate of Agra were Babur's serious limitations. But the beginnings made by him successfully guided the later designers under his able descendants: Akbar, Jehāngīr and Shāh Jehān. They retained the fundamentals and gradually adapted themselves to the climate, the site, the lay-out, the garden and the architecture, that is the **environment**. The **palace-gardens** of Agra, Delhi and Lahore, **terraced gardens** of Kashmir, Lahore, Delhi and Pinjore and, above all, the grand **tomb-gardens** of the Great Mughals at Delhi, Agra and Lahore, those of the tombs of Humāyūn, Akbar, Jehāngīr, I'timād-ud-Daulah and the Taj Mahal, for example, developed from the modest beginning of Babur. It was in these palatial and tomb-gardens that Babur's dreams found grandiose and fruition.

The Bābur-Nāmah

The *Bābur-Nāmah* (*BN*) is Babur's autobiography and his *Memoirs* but, more than that and essentially, it is his **Diary** which he maintained from day to day and which is "contemporary with the events it describes; is boyish in his boyhood, grows with his growth, matures as he matured."[47] It embodies and reflects his entire career and the age in which he lived. He began to write it, in Turkī, his mother-language, in 899/1494 when he became the ruler of Farghanā and he continued it till his death at Agra in 937/1530. In writing it, probably he aspired to emulate his great ancestor Tīmūr's example.

At present, there are some *gaps* in the *BN*, viz, i) from 1503 to 1504; ii) from 1508 to 1519; iii) from 1520 to 1525; iv) part of the year 1528; and v) from 1529 to 1530, some of which are important lacunaes which Beveridge has tried to reconstruct in her excellent translation.[48] The whole material falls into three territorial divisions:

I. Farghanā section, 1494-1504;[49]
II. Kābul section, 1504-1525;[50] and
III. **Hindustān section 1525-1530** [51]

Fortunately, a large part of the Hindustān section, including his extremely useful comments on the things Indian, has survived in the *BN*, that is why it is so overwhelmingly important to us in the study of early 16th century History and Culture of North-Western India.

Only few copies of the original Turkī *BN* seem to have been made. The one, named **Haidarabad Codex** (*HCodex*) dated c. 1700 containing 382 folios and preserved in the Salarjung Library Hyderabad, was the most complete and it was from this that Beveridge prepared her translation. The *BN* was first translated from Turkī into Persian in 1589 by 'Abdur-Raḥīm (*Khān-i-Khānān*) by Akbar's order for Abū'l Faḍl's use in the *Akbar-Nāmah*. It was named '*Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*'. Several copies of the Persian *BN* were later made and it was from one such text that Erskine translated it into English with the help of Leyden's translation (unpublished) which he had made from original Turkī, and titled it *Memoirs of Babur*[52] (1826). By far, and in all respects, Beveridge's is the most standard and complete translation of the *BN*.

The *BN* is not only an **autobiography, Annals**, and a **Memoirs**, it is also **a unique work of history**. It provides an excellent study of the countries Babur visited: their terrain, rivers and mountains; routes; fauna and flora; people and their habits and customs; diet and dress; and art and crafts.[53] It also provides a wonderful **terminology** of Turkī, Persian and Hindustānī words, for example,

aīmāq	*ākā*	*ālāchī*
aūghlān	*aūrchīn*[54]	*bāgh*
bāghāt	*bāghlār*	*bāghchā*
beglār	*bakhshī*	*bāshliqlār*
beg	*bīldurga*	*bīlāk*[55]
chāchī	*chāghīr*	*chārdara*
chaughān	*chaukandī*	*chāpkūn*
chiqār[56]	*dābān*	*dādā*
dam	*dīm*[57]	*goshā*
ghūnchachī	*gullī*[58]	*khachar*
khān-dādā	*kīyīk*	*khimār*
kūr-khāna	*kushlūq*[59]	*lām*
likh	*lūja*	*lūkha*[60]
ming-hazāra	*mirzā*	*ming-begī*
mihmān-beg[61]	*nihilam*	*nūyān*[62]

pahr	*postīn*[63]	*qābāq*
qāchār	*qārī*	*qanātiyāq*
qazāqlar	*qūbā-yuzlūq*	*qurchī*
qurghān	*qurūq*	*qūshūq*
qumīz	*qūlāch*[64]	*sar-i-sabz*
sar-kob	*sangūr*	*sīghnāq*[65]
tabalghū	*tāsh-chantāī*	*tāsh*
ṭaurī	*tipūchāq*	*tīr-gīz*
tulūk	*tūrā*	*tūmān*
tūlghuma	*tughāī*[66]	*yada-tāsh*
yāghrunchi	*yīghāch*	*yigīt*
yilāq	*yinkā*	*yinkalīk*
yūsūnlūq,[67]		

and for that matter an extremely useful linguistic study and, above all, an excellent **anthropological study of races, tribes and clans** of Central Asia and Afghanistan, during the 15th-16th centuries, for example, of the Turks, Mughūls, Aūzbegs (Uzbeks), Chaghtāīs, Turkmāns, Tarkhāns, Arghūns and Afghāns, with pedigrees and genealogies of some of the most important houses. It is thus a useful document for the study of social and cultural history of the period, of the Punjab and the Jamuna-Chambal region, over and above its political and military contents for which it has been hitherto largely utilized.

Notes and References

1. *BN*, 12-24. Also see ibid, Index, 737-39.
2. For his biography, see ibid, 12-28.
3. Ibid, Preface, xxvii.
4. *HMA*-I, 77-78.
5. For full details of his religious views, see *BN*, Index, 737-38.
6. *BN*, 299.
7. Ibid, 232.
8. Ibid, 576.
9. This is not an apology or a defence but just an explanation of the custom in the face of the prevailing circumstances.
10. *BN*, 84.
11. Ibid, 104-5.
12. Ibid, 140.

13. Cf. Ibid, 158,n.1.
14. Ibid, 344.
15. Ibid, 1 n. 3 ; and 344.
16. Ibid, 344 n. 2.
17. For details see this author's ''Mughal Concept of Sovereignty in the Inscriptions of Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and Delhi (1570-1654)'' *Indica*, Bombay XI, 2 (September 1974) 89-100.
18. *BN*, 188.
19. Cf. Ibid, 188 n. 1.
20. Ibid, 339.
21. Ibid, 239 n. 1.
22. Ibid, 678.
23. Ibid, 298.
24. Ibid, 301.
25. Ibid, 317.
26. Ibid, 333.
27. Ibid, 338-39.
28. Ibid, 367-75.
29. Ibid, 375.
30. Ibid, 385-86.
31. Ibid, 417-18.
32. Ibid, 447.
33. Ibid, 437-38 and 449.
34. Ibid, 438.
35. Ibid, 438-39.
36. For full details, see Ibid, Index, 738-39 titled 'Writings' and 'Babur's Verses'.
37. Ibid, 80.
38. Ibid, 80, n.3.
39. Ibid, 291-92.
40. Ibid, 291.
41. Ibid, 291-92.
42. Ibid, 302.
43. Ibid, 302.
44. Ibid, 520.
45. For details, see this author's ''Babur's Jal-Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri'' *Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri* (Jaipur 1988), 1-7.
46. *HMA*-I, 87-90.

46A. For full details of Babur's gardens, see *BN*, Index, 856.

47. *BN*, Preface xxxi.
48. Vide translator's Notes, *BN* (Contents, pp. vii-xxvi) 182-85; 347-66; 426-44; 603-4; and 691-716. For her comments on the lacunaes, see ibid, xxxi-xxxviii.
49. Cf. Ibid, 1-185.
50. Ibid, 187-444.
51. Ibid, 445-716.
52. For a detailed discussion on the *BN* manuscripts and translations, see Beveridge's Preface *BN:* xxxviii-1x which is nearly exhaustive. Also see *BN* general Index, 850-52; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, 1902, 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1908; and a small bibliography of writings, *BN*, Preface, 1-li.
53. See *BN*, Index-III (General) 849-71 for details of various aspects.
54. Ibid, 850.
55. Ibid, 852.
56. Ibid, 854; '*Chaukhaṇḍī*' is a Hindi word.
57. Ibid, 855.
58. Ibid, 857; ''lanes and *gullies*'' (*BN*, 133); *gullī* (*galī* गली) is also used in Hindi in the same sense.
59. Ibid, 859.
60. Ibid, 860.
61. Ibid, 862.
62. Ibid, 863.
63. Ibid, 864.
64. Ibid, 865.
65. Ibid, 866.
66. Ibid, 869.
67. Ibid, 871.

APPENDIX—A

The Secret Will of Babur

(1529 AD)

Babur was entirely opposed to the concept of a theocratic polity and he was kindly disposed towards his non-believing (= Hindu) subjects with whom he advocated and practised a policy of peaceful co-existence, toleration and non-interference in their religious matters, something which is denoted in the modern times by the misnomer 'secularism'. He respected their religious susceptibilities. An extremely important document is on record to vouchsafe for this particular phenomenon of the personality of this warrior-king.

It is his own **secret will** which he addressed to his son and heir-apparent Humāyūn, on 1 Jamādī'al-Awwal 935 AH/11 January 1529 when he was staying at his rock-cut *Bāgh-i-Nīlūfar* (The Lotus Garden) at Dholpur (near Agra, now in Rajasthan). It was originally preserved in 'the State Library Bhopal, C.I.' from where its photographed copy was sent, on 11 December 1921, by B. Ghoshal, the Curator of the Library, to Sir (Syed) Ross Masood, the then Director of Public Instruction in the erstwhile Nizam's Government Hyderabad, along with his forwarding letter of the date (Fig. 2).

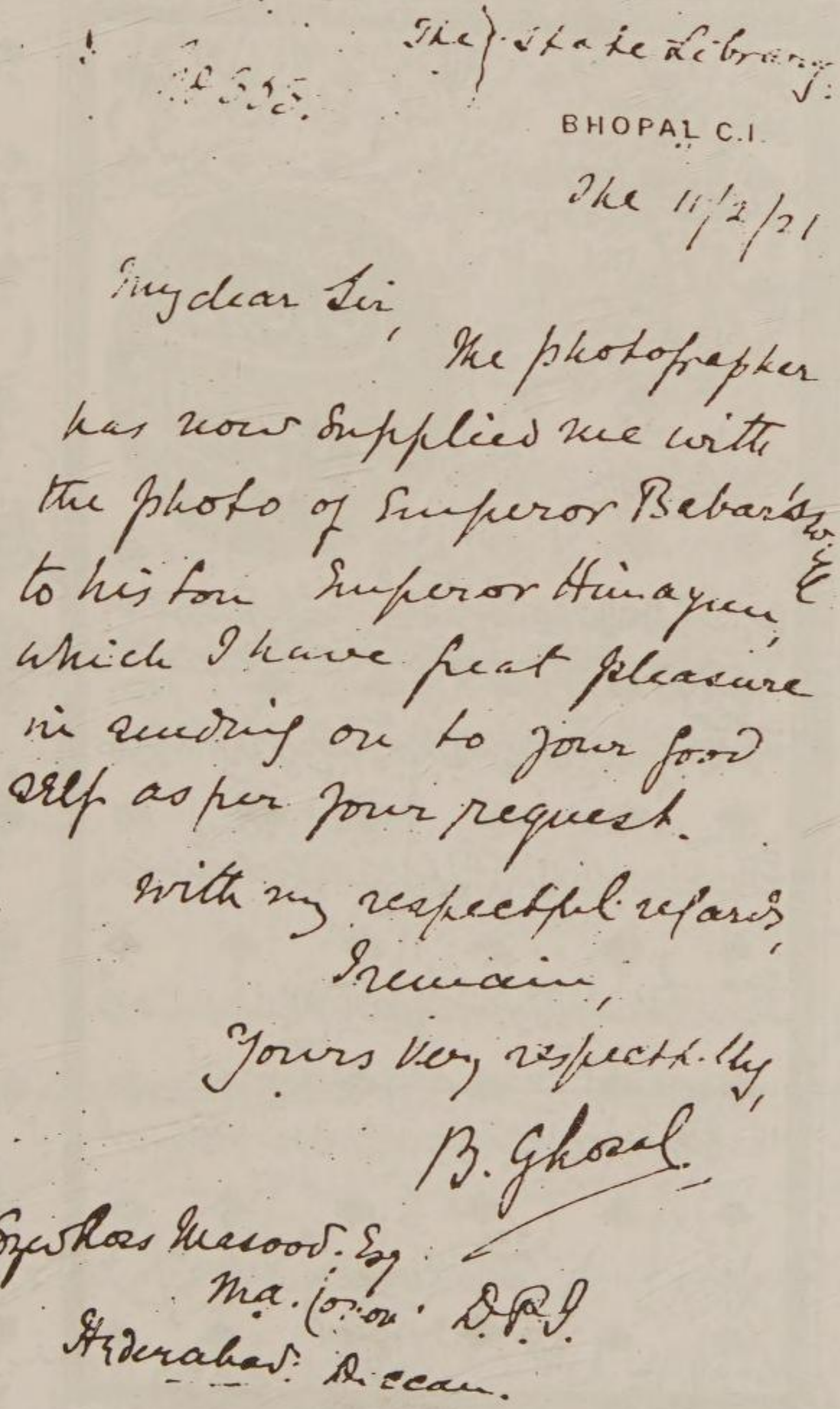
The photograph of the **WILL** and Ghoshal's original letter were handed over to the Late Professor H.K. Sherwani on Sir Ross Masood's leaving Hyderabad to take up the Vice-Chancellorship of the Aligarh Muslim University. The Late Professor Sherwani read and transcribed the **WILL**, and he referred to it in his writings which is how it came to the knowledge of the scholars and historians.

A facsimile copy of the **WILL** which is in Persian is given herewith (Fig. 3) along with its transcript (Fig. 4). The seal of Babur is quite distinct and reads:

'Ẓahīr'al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Bād
Shāh
Bahādur Ghāzī
933 h'
(= 1526-27 AD This is the date of the seal).

The **WILL** reads as follows:

All praise be to Allah. **Secret WILL** of Ẓahīr'al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur to his son Prince Naṣīr'al-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn. May


The State Library
BHOPAL C.I.

The 11/2/21

My dear Sir,

The photographer has now supplied me with the photo of Emperor Babar's & to his son Emperor Humayun & which I have great pleasure in sending on to your good self as per your request.

With my respectful regards,

I remain,

Yours Very respectfully,

B. Ghosal.

Syed Ross Masood. Esq
M.A. (Oxon) Bar-at-Law
Hyderabad Deccan.

Fig. 2 : B.Ghoshal's letter dt. 11 February 1921.

Fig. 3 : Facsimile of Babur's Will (1529 AD).

اَلحَمدُ لِلّٰہ

وصیت نامہ مخفی ظہیر الدین محمد بابر بادشاہ غازی
بشاہزادہ نصیر الدین محمد ہمایوں طول عمرہٗ

بہ استحکام سلطنت نوشتہ شد۔ ای فرزند مملکت ہندوستان از مذاہب
مختلفہ مامور است حق سبحانہ تعالیٰ آن بتو کرامت فرمود باید کہ تعصبات مذہبی را
از لوحِ دل پاک نمودہ موافق طریق ہر مذہب معدلت کن خصوصاً از قربانی گاؤ
پرہیز کہ تسخیرِ قلوبِ ہندوستان ست و رعیت ایں ولایت باحسانات بادشاہی
وابستہ شود۔ و منادر و معبدگاہ ہر قومے کہ زیر فرمان بادشاہی است خراب مکن
چنان عدل گستری اختیار کن کہ شاہ از رعیت و رعیت از شاہ آسودہ شود۔ ترقی اسلام
از تیغ احسان بہتر است نہ از تیغ ظلم و از منافقات اہلِ سنت و شیعہ چشم پوشی کن
والّا ضعف اسلام موجود است۔ و رعیت مختلف القلوب را بحکم اربع عناصر قائم
کن کہ جسم سلطنت از امراض مختلفہ ایمن باشد۔ کارنامہ حضرت امیر تیمور
صاحبقراں پیش نظر باید داشت کہ بامور شہریاری پختہ شود
وَمَا عَلَینَا اِلَّا البَلَاغ۔ یکم جمادی الاول ۹۳۵ھ

Fig. 4 : Persian text of Babur's Will (1529 AD).

God prolong his life. Written for the strengthening of the empire. O My son, the Empire of Hindustān consists of various religions. Domination and sovereignty whereof has been bestowed on you by the grace of the Almighty. It is incumbent that religious bigotries should be wiped off the tablet of the heart, and justice meted out to each religion according to its own tenets. Specially, abstain from sacrifice of cows as this would tend to win the hearts of the people of Hindustān and the populace of the country would be loyal to the Royal favours. The **temples and places of worship** of whatever religion under the Royal authority may not be desecrated. Such justice may be adopted that the King may be pleased with *Rayyat* (subjects) and the *Rayyat* with the King. The advancement of Islam is better achieved with the weapon of obligation rather than with the sword of tyranny. Overlook the dispute between Sunnīs and Shiās since such weakness still persists in Islam. Establish administration with the *Rayyat* of various communities in accordance with the four principal elements so that the body of the Empire may be free from different diseases. The model work done by his Late Majesty Tīmūr (Tamerlane) *'Ṣāḥib-Qirān* should always be kept before the mind so that you may become mature in the work of administration. (Written on) 1 Jamādī'al-Awwal 935 h." (11 January 1529 AD when he was camping at Dholpur).

Thus did Babur lay down the policy for the governance of this country of overwhelming non-believers, for the guidance of his successors. He warned them not to meddle in the religious affairs of the people and to leave them free to practise their religion in accordance with their own faiths and beliefs. He warned, specifically, against demolition of temples or any other iconoclastic measures in the name of Islam and he classed them under tyranny (*Zulm*). It was quite plain and simple speaking and he advised him (Humāyūn) to shed religious bigotry and live with total rapport with his subjects in the best spirit of **peaceful co-existence**, toleration and non-interference in their religious matters.

It is pity that the original **WILL** is not now traceable in the library, now called the Maulana Azad Central Library, Purana Ajayabghar, Bhopal. This is an extremely valuable historical document. What has happened to it? Is it lost to us and only its photograph has survived? Is there any body in this country responsible for the preservation of this heritage???

2

DESCRIPTION OF KĀBUL[1]

(AH 910/14 June 1504 to 4 June 1505 AD)

The **Kābul** country is situated in the Fourth Climate and in the midst of cultivated lands. On the east it has the Lamghānāt, Parshāwar (Peshāwar), Hasht-nagar and some of the countries (regions) of Hindustān. On the west it has the mountain region in which are Karnūd(?) and Ghūr, now the refuge and dwelling-places of the Hazāra and Nikdīrī (v. Nikudārī) tribes. On the north, separated from it by the range of Hindūkush, it has Qundūz and Andar-āb countries. On the south, it has Farmūl, Naghr (v. Naghz), Bannū and Afghānistān.[2]

Town and Enivrons of Kābul

The Kabul district, itself of small extent, has its greatest length from east to west, and is surrounded by mountains. Its walled-town is connected with one of these mountains, a low one, known as *Shāh-i-Kābul* because at some time a Hindū Shāh (viz. the Hindū-Shāhī king) of Kabul built a residence on its summit.[3] It is 7592 ft. above the sea, some 1800 ft., therefore, above the town. It begins at the *Dūrrīn* narrows (passes) and ends at those of *Dīh-i-Yāq'ūb;*[4] it may be 4 miles (*2 shar'ī*) round. Its skirt is covered with gardens irrigated by a canal which was brought along the hill-slope in the time of my paternal uncle, Aūlūgh Beg Mirzā by his guardian, Wais Ataka.[5] The water of this canal comes to an end in a retired corner, a quarter known as *Kul-Kīna* (Small Hamlet) where much debauchery (prostitution) has gone on. About this place, it sometimes used to be said, in justing parody of Khwājah 'Ḥāfiz: ''Ah! the happy, thoughtless time when, with our names in ill-repute, we lived days and days at Kul-Kīna!''

East of *Shāh-i-Kābul* and south of the walled town lies a large lake (Aūlūgh-Kūl), about 2 miles round. From the town side of the mountain, three small springs flow, two of them near *Kul-Kīna.* Khwājah Shamū's (Khwājah Shamsu'ddīn Jān-bāz's) tomb is at the head of one of them. Khwājah Khiḍr's *Qadam-gāh*[6] is at the head of the second one and the third is at a place known as Khwājah Raushanāī, in front of Khwājah 'Abdu'ṣ,-'Ṣamad. On a detached rock

of a spur of Shāh-i-Kābul, known as *'Uqābain,*[7] stands the citadel of Kābul with great walled-town at its north end, lying high in excellent air, and overlooking the large tank already mentioned, and also three meadows, namely, *Siyāh-sang* (Black-Rock), *Sung-qūrghān* (fort-back) and *Chālāk* (Highwayman?). It gives most beautiful view when the meadows are green. The north wind does not fail *Kabul* in the summers; people call it the Parwān-wind.[8] It makes a delightful temperature on the windowed houses on the northern part of the citadel. In praise of the citadel of *Kabul*, Mullā Muḥammad Ṭālib Mu'ammai (The Riddler)[9] used to recite the following couplet, composed on Badī'u'z-zamān Mirzā's name:

Bakhūr dar arg-i-Kābul mai, bagardān kāsa pāy dar pāy,
Kah ham koh ast, u ham daryā, u ham shahr ast, u ham ṣaḥrā'.
(Drink wine in the castle of Kabul and send the cup round, without pause;
For Kabul is mountain, is river, is city and is a lowland in one.)[10]

Kābul as a Trading Town

Just as Arabs call every place outside 'Arab (Arabia), 'Ajam, so the Hindustānīs call every place outside Hindustān, *Khurāsān*. There are two trade marts on the land-route between *Hindustān* and *Khurāsān*: one is Kābul, the other, *Qandahār*. To Kābul caravans come from Kāshghar, Farghāna, Turkistān, Samarkand, Bukhārā, Balkh, 'Ḥiṣār and Badakhshān. To Qandahār they come from Khurāsān. *Kābul* is an excellent trading centre; if merchants went to *Khitā*[11] or to *Rūm*,[12] they might make no higher profit. Down to Kābul every year come 7, 8, or 10,000 horses and up to it, from Hindustān, come every year caravans of 10, 15, 20,000 heads-of-houses bringing slaves (*bandā*), white cloth, sugar-candy, refined and common sugars, and aromatic roots. Many a trader is not content without a profit of 30 or 40 on 10, (that is, 300 per cent to 400 per cent). In Kabul can be had the products of Khurāsān, Rūm, 'Īrāq and Chīn (China); while it is **Hindustān's own market.**

Products and Climate of Kabul

In the country of *Kabul*, there are hot and cold districts close to one another. In one day, a man may go out of the town of Kabul to where snow never falls, or he may go, in two sidereal hours, to where it never melts, unless when the heats are such that it cannot possibly stand.

Fruits of hot and cold climates are to be had in the districts near the town. Amongst those of the cold climate, which can be had in the town are grape, pomegranate, apricot, apple, quince, pear, peach, plum, *sinjid*, almond and walnut. I had cuttings of the *ālū-bālū* (a kind of plum or cherry?) brought there and planted; they grew and have done well. Of fruits of the hot climate people bring into the town from the *Lamghānāt*, are orange, citron, *amlūk* (*diospyrus lotus*) and sugar-cane; this last I had had brought and planted there.[13] From *Nijr-au* (Nijr water) they bring *jil-ghuza*[14] and, from the hill tracts, much honey. Bee-hives are in use; it is only from towards *Ghaznīn* that no honey comes.

The *rhubarb* (*rawāshlār*) of the Kabul district is good, its quinces and plums are very good, and so is its *badrang*.[15] An excellent grape known as water-grape[16] is also grown in Kabul. Kabul **wines** are heady, those of the Khwajah Khāwand Sa'īd hill-area being famous for their strength. But here I must note:

The flavour of the wine only a connoisseur knows;
What chance have sober men to admire it?

Kabul is not fertile in **grain** and a four or five-fold return (yield) is recknoned good. Nor are its **melons** first-rate,but they are not altogether bad when grown from Khurāsān seed.

It has a very pleasant **climate**; if the world has another so pleasant, it is not known. Even in the heats (summers), one cannot sleep at night without a fur-coat (*pūstīn*, usually of sheep-skin). Although the snow in most places lie deep in winter, the cold is not excessive, whereas in *Samarkand* and *Tabrīz*, both noted for their pleasant climate like *Kabul*, the cold is extreme.

Meadows of Kābul

There are good **meadows** (*charāgāh*) on the four sides of Kabul. An excellent one, *Sūng-qūrghān*, is some 4 miles (2 *kuroh*) to the north-east. It has grass fit for horses and no mosquitos. To the north-west is the *Chālāk* meadow, some 2 miles (1 *shar'ī*) away. It is a large one but here mosquitos greatly trouble the horses. On the west is the *Durrīn*. In fact, there are two: *Tīpa* and *Qūsh-nādir* (v. nāwar) and if two are counted here, there would be five in all. Each of these is about 2 miles from the town. Both are small, have good grass for horses and no mosquitos. Kabul has no better meadows. On the east is the *Siyāh-sang* meadow with Qūtlūq-qadam's tomb between it and the Currier's-gate (Lahore Gate). It is not of much worth because in the heats it swarms with mosquitos. *Kamari* meadow adjoins it; counting

this in, the meadows of Kabul would be six, but they are always spoken of as four.

Mountain Passes and Roads of Kābul

The country of *Kabul* is strongly fortified by nature and is a fastness hard for a foreign foe to make his way into it. The Hindūkush mountains, which separate Kabul from Balkh, Qundūz and Badakhshān, are crossed by **seven roads**.[17] Three of these roads lead out of Panjhir (**Panj-sher**) viz. *Khawāk*, the uppermost; *Ṭūl*, the next lower; and *Bāzārak*. Of the passes on them, the one on the Ṭūl road is the best, but the road itself is rather the longest whence, seemingly, it is called Ṭūl. Bāzārak is the most direct. Like Ṭūl, it leads over into Sar-i-āb. As it passes through *Pārandī*, local people call its main pass, the Pārandī. Another road leads up through *Parwān*. It has **seven minor passes** known as *Haft-bachā* (Seven-younglings), between Parwān and its main pass (Bāj-gāh). It is joined at its main pass by two roads from *Andar-āb*, which go on to Parwān by it. This is a difficult road. Out of *Ghūr-bund*, again, three roads lead over. The one next to Parwān, known as the *Yāngi-yūl* pass (New-road), goes through *Wālīān* to *Khinjan*. Next above this is the Qipchāq road, crossing the point where water of Andar-āb meets the *Surkh-āb* (Qīzīl-sū). This is also an excellent road.

The third road leads over the *Shibr-tū* pass.[18] Those crossing by this in the heats take their way by *Bāmiān* and *Saighān*,but those crossing by it in winter, go on by *Āb*-dara (Water-valley). Shibr-tū excepted, all the Hindūkush roads are closed for three or four months in winter, because no road through a valley-bottom is passable when the waters are high. If anyone thinks to cross the *Hindūkush* at that time, over the mountains instead of through a valley-bottom, his journey is extremely difficult. The time to cross is during the three or four autumn months when the snow is less and the waters are low. Whether on the mountains or in the valley-bottoms, the region is infested by Kāfir highwaymen (robbers).

The road from Kabul to Khurāsān passes through Qandahār. It is quite level, without a pass.

Four roads lead into Kabul from the Hindustān side: one by rather a low pass through the *Khaibar* mountains; second by way of *Bangash*; third by way of *Naghr* (v. Naghz)[19] and the fourth through *Farmūl*.[20] The last three are low passes. These roads are passed by three ferries on the river Sindh. Those who take the *Nīl-āb*[21] ferry, come on through the *Lamghānāt*.[22] In winter, however, people ford the

Sindh-water at Hāru, 10 miles above Attock, above its confluence with the Kabul river which is also forded here. In most of my expeditions into *Hindustān*, I crossed these fords, but this last time (932/1525), (when I defeated Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and conquered the country) I crossed by boat at *Nīl-āb*. Except at the place mentioned above, the river Sindh can be crossed only by boat. Those again, who cross at *Dīn-Koṭ* (Dhān-Koṭ)[23] go on through *Bangash*. Those crossing at *Chaupāra*, if they take the Farmūl road, go on to *Ghaznīn*, or, if they go by the *Dasht*,[24] go on to *Qandahār*.

Inhabitants of Kabul

There ar many **differing tribes** in the Kabul country. In its dales and plains are **Turks**, clansmen (aīmāq; *Mughūls*) and *'Arabs*. In its town and in many villages live *Sārts*. Out in the districts and also in villages are the *Pashāī, Parājī, Tājik, Bīrkī* and *Afghān* tribes. In the western mountains are the *Hazāra* and *Nikdīrī* tribes, some of whom speak the Mughūlī tongue. In the north-eastern mountains are the abodes of the *Kāfirs* such as *Kitūr* (Gawār) and Gibrik. Afghān tribes live in the south. Just as Turks and Mughūl clans (*aīmāq*) dwell in the open country of Khurāsān and Samarkand, so in Kabul do the Hazāra and Afghāns. Of the Hazāra, the most widely-scattered are the *Sulṭān-Maṣ'ūdī Hazāra*; of Afghāns, the *Mahmand*.

Eleven or twelve tongues are spoken in Kabul: 'Arabī, Persian, Turkī, Mughūlī, **Hindī**, Afghānī, Pashāī, Parājī, Gibrī, Bīrki and Lamghānī. It is not known if there is any other country with so many differing tribes and such a diversity of tongues (dialects).

Sub-Divisions of the Kabul Country: The Terrain, The People and Their Life

The *Kabul* country has fourteen *tūmāns*.

Bājaur, Sawāt (Swāt) and *Hash-nagar* may at one time have been dependencies of Kabul, but they now have no resemblance to cultivated countries (*wilāyat*), some laying desolate because of the Afghāns, others being now subject to them.

In the east of the country of Kabul is the *Lamghānāt*, 5 *tūmāns* and 2 *bulūks* of the cultivated lands.[25] The largest of these is *Ningnahār*, sometimes written Nagarahār in the histories.[26] Its dārogha's residence is in a Adīnāpur, some 13 *yighāch* (= 82 miles) east of Kabul by a very bad and tiresome road, going in three or four places over small hill-passes, and in three or four others, through narrows (*tangī*). So long as there was no cultivation along it, the

Khirilchī and other Afghān thieves used to make it their beat, but it has become safe since I had it peopled at *Qarā-tū* (Dark-turn), below *Qūrūq-sāi*. The hot and cold climates are separated on this road by the pass of *Bādām-chashmā* (Almond-spring);[27] thus while snow falls on its Kabul side, there is none at *Qūrūq-sāi*, towards the Lamghānāt.

After descending this pass, another world comes into view. There are different trees, different plants (or grasses), different animals and different manners and customs of men. *Ningnahār* is nine torrents (*tūqūz-rūd*). It grows good crops of rice and corn, excellent and abundant oranges, citrons and pomegranates. In 914/1508-9, I laid out the **Chār-Bāgh** known as the *Bāgh-i-Wafā* (Garden of Fidelity) on a rising ground facing south, and having the *Surkh-rūd* between it and Fort Adīnāpur. Oranges, citrons and pomegranates grow there in abundance. The year I defeated Pahār Khān and took Lāhore and Dīpālpur, I had plantains (bananas) brought and planted there; they did very well. The year before, I had had sugar-cane planted there; it also did well. Some of it was sent to Bukhārā and Badakhshān.[28] The garden lies high, has running-water close at hand, and a mild winter climate. In the middle of it, a one-mill stream flows constantly past the little hill on which are the four garden-plots (*chār-bāgh*). In the south-west part of it, there is a reservoir, 10 by 10 yards (*qārī*) , round which are orange trees and a few pomegranates, the whole encircled by a trefoil meadow. This is the best part of the garden, a most beautiful sight when the oranges take colour. Truly, that garden is admirably situated.

The **Safed-koh** runs along the south of *Ningnahār*, dividing it from *Bangash*. No riding-road crosses it. Nine torrents (*tūqūz-rūd*) issue from it. It is called *Safed-koh* (White mountain; *Pushtū, Spīn-ghur* or *ghar*) because its snow never melts, nor is there any snowfall in the lower parts of its valleys, a half-day's journey from the snow-line. Many places along it have an excellent climate. It's waters are cold and need no ice.[29]

The *Surkh-rūd* flows along the south of *Adīnāpur*. The fort stands on a height having a straight fall to the river of some 130 ft (40-50 *qārī*) and isolated from the mountain behind it on the north. Thus it is very strongly placed. That mountain runs between *Ningnahār* and *Lamghān*;[30] on its head snow falls when it snows in Kabul, so that Lamghānīs know when it has snowed in the town.

In going from Kabul into the Lamghānāt, if people come by *Qūrūq-sāī*, one road goes on through the *Dīrī*-pass, crosses the *Bāran*-water (river) at *Buiān*, and so on into the Lamghānāt. Another

goes through *Qārā-tū*, below *Qūrūq-sāī*, crosses the Bāran-water at *Aūlūgh-ūr* (Great-rock)[31] and goes into Lamghān by the pass of *Bād-i-pīch*.[32] If however people come by *Nijr-aū*, they traverse *Badr-aū* (Tag-aū), and *Qarā-nakariq*(?) and go on through the pass of *Bād-i-pīch*.

Although Ningnahār is one of the five *tūmāns* of the Lamghān *tūmān*, the name *Lamghānāt* applies strictly only to the following three regions.

The first of these (? second?) is the **'Alī-shāng** *tūmān*, to the north of which are fastness-mountains, connecting with the *Hindūkush* and inhabited by Kāfirs only. What of *Kāfiristān* lies nearest to 'Alī-shāng is *Mīl*, out of which its torrent (rivulet) issues. The tomb of Lord Lām, father of his Reverence the prophet Nūḥ (Noah) is in this *tūmān*. In some histories, he is called Lamak and Lamakān. Some people are observed often to change *kāf* for *ghain* (*k* for *gh*) which is why the country is called Lamghān.

The second (? third) is **Alangār**. The part of Kāfiristān nearest to it is *Gawār* (Kawār), out of which its torrent issues (the Gau or Kau). This torrent joins that of 'Alī-shāng and flows with it into the Bārān-water, below *Mandrāwar*, which is the third (? fourth) *tūmān* of the Lamghānāt.

Of the two *bulūks* of *Lamghān* one is the **Nūr-valley.**[33] This is a place (*yīr*) without a second (*ghair-mukarrar*). Its fort is on a beak (*tūmshūq*) of rock in the mouth of the valley and has a torrent on each side. Rice is grown on its steep terraces and it can be traversed by one road only. It has orange, citron and other fruits of hot climates in abundance, and even a few dates. Trees cover the banks of both torrents below the fort; many of them are *amlūk* the fruit of which some Turks call *qarā-yimish*.[34] Here they are many,but none have been seen elsewhere. The valley grows grapes also, all **trained on trees.**[35] Reputed Lamghān wines are prepared from them. Two sorts of grapes are grown: the *arah-tāshī* and the *sūhān-tāshī*,[36] the first being yellowish, the second, full red of fine colour. The first make the more cheering wine, though **wines** prepared from both have no equal. High up in one of its glens, apes (*maimūn*) are found, but none below. Those people, (that is, Nūrīs) used to keep swine but they have given it up in our time.

Another *tūmān* of Lamghān is **Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal**. It lies somewhat out-of-the-way, remote from the Lamghānāt, with its boraers contagious to the Kāfir lands; on these accounts its people give

in tribute rather little of what they have. The *Chaghān-sarāi* water enters it from the north-east, passes on into the *bulūk* of Kāma, there joins the Bārān-water and with that flows east.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī **Hamadāni,**[37] coming here as he was travelling, died 2 miles (*1 shar'ī*) above Kunār. His disciples carried his body to *Khutlān*. A shrine was erected at the place of his death. I visited it when I took *Chaghān-sarāi* in 920/1514 (correctly 924/1518).

Orange, citron and coriander[38] are abundantly grown in this *tūmān*. Strong wines are brought down into it from Kāfiristān.

A curious story regarding the shaking of the dead bodies of chaste women is current in the hill-country above *Multa-kundi*,[39] viz. in Kūnār, Nūr-gal, Bājaur, Sawād (Swāt) and thereabouts.

Another *bulūk* is **Chaghān-sarāi,**[40] a single village with little land in the mouth of Kāfiristān. Its people, though Muṣalmān, mix with the Kāfirs and, consequently, follow their customs. A great torrent (the *Kūnār*) comes down to it from the north-east from behind *Bājaur* and a smaller one, called *Pīch*, comes down out of Kāfiristān. Strong yellowish **wines** are available there, though they are not as good as those of the *Nūr*-valley. The village has no grapes or vineyards of its own; its wines are all brought from up the Kāfiristān-water and from *Pīch-i-Kāfiristānī*.

The Pīch Kāfirs come to help the villagers when I took the place. Wine is so commonly used there that every Kāfir has his leathern wine-bag (*khīg*) at his neck and **drinks wine instead of water**.

Kāma, again, though not a separate district is dependent on *Ningnahār*. It is also called a *bulūk*.

Nijr-au[41] is another *tūmān*. It lies north of Kābul, in the *Kohistān*, with mountains behind it inhabited solely by *Kāfirs*. It is an isolated place. It grows grapes and fruits in abundance. Its people make much wine but they boil it. In winter they tend fowls. They are wine-bibblers. They do not pray, have no scruples and are **Kāfir-like** (*Kāfirwash*).[42]

In the *Nijr-aū* mountains is an abundance of such trees as *archa, jīl-ghūzā, bīiūt* and *khanjak*.[43] The first three do not grow above Nigr-aū but they grow lower, and are amongst the trees of Hindustān. *Jīl-ghūzā* wood is all the lamp the people have; **it burns like a candle** and is very remarkable. The flying squirrel[44] is found in these mountains, an animal larger than a bat and having a curtain (*parda*) like a bat's wing between its arms and legs. People often brought one in. It is said to fly downward to about 60 yards from one tree to the other, as far a *gīz* flies.[45] But I myself have never seen it flying. Once

we put one to a tree. It clambered up directly and got away, but when people went after it, it spread its wings and came down, without hurt, as if it had flown.

Another of the curiosities of the *Nijr-aū* mountains is the *lūkha* (v. *lūja*) bird, also called *bū-qalamūn* (chemeleon) because, between its head and tail, it has four or five changing colours, resplendent like a pigeon's throat.[46] It is about as large as the **kabg-i-darī** and seems to be the *kabg-i-darī* of Hindustān.[47] It is said that when, at the on-set of winter, they descend to the hill-skirts, if they come over a vineyard, they can fly no further and are taken. There is a kind of rat in Nijr-aū, known as the **muskrat, which smells of musk**. But I have never seen it.

Panjhīr (*Panj-sher*) is another *tūmān*. It lies close to Kāfiristān, along with Panjhir road, and is the thoroughfare of Kāfir highwaymen (robbers) who also, being so near, take tax of it. They have gone through it, killing a mass of persons, and doing very evil deeds, until I came this last time and conquered *Hindustān* (932/1526).

Another is the tūmān of **Ghūr-band**. In those countries, they call a *kūtal* (*kotal*) (*koh*?) a *bund*.[48] They go towards Ghūr by this pass (*kutal*) and, apparently, it is for this reason that they have called (the *tūmān?*) *Ghūr-bund*. The Hazāra tribes hold the heads of its valleys. It has few villages and little revenue can be raised from it. There are said to be **mines of silver and lapis-lazuli** in its mountains.

Again, there are the villages on the skirts of the Hindūkush mountains[49] with *Mita-kacha* and *Parwān* at their head, and *Dūr-Nāma* (or *Dūr-namāī* = seen from afar) at their foot, 12 or 13 in all. They are fruit-bearing villages, and they grow cheering wines, those of Khwājah Khāwand Sa'īd being reputed the strongest roundabouts. The villages all lie on the foot-hills; some pay taxes but not all are taxable because they lie so far back in the mountains.

Between the foot-hills and the Bārān water are two detached stretches of level land, one known as *Kurrat-tāziyān* (Arabs'-Encampment),[50] the other as *Dasht-i-Shaikh* (Shaikh's Plain). As the green grass of the millet grows well there, they are the resort of Turks and Mughūl clans (*aīmāq*).

Tulips of many colours grow naturally and cover those foot-hills. I once counted them up and it came out at 32 or **33 different sorts**. We named one the Rose-scented because its perfume was little like that of the red rose.It grows by itself on Shaikh's plain, here and nowhere else. The Hundred-leaved tulip is another. This grows, also by

itself, at the outlet of the *Ghūr-bund* narrows, on the hill-skirt below *Parwān*. A low hill known as *Khwāja-i-regrawān* (Khwajah of the Running Sand), divides the afore-named two pieces of level land. It has, from top to foot, a strip of sand from which people say the **sound of nagarets and tambours issues in the heats.**

Again, there are the villages depending on Kabul itself. South-west from the town[51] are great snow mountains, where snow falls on snow, and where few may be the years when, failing, it does not light on the last year's snow. It is fetched, some times for 12 miles, from these mountains, to cool the drinking water when ice-houses in Kabul are empty. Like the Bāmiān mountains, these are fastnesses. Out of them issue the Harmand (Helmund), Sind, Dūghāba of Qūndūz, and Balkh-āb,[52] so that **in a single day, a man might drink of the water of each of these four rivers.**

It is on the skirt of one of these ranges (*Pamghān*) that most of the villages dependent on Kabul lie. Masses of **grapes** ripen in their vineyards and they grow every sort of **fruit** in abundance. None of them equals *Istālīf* or *Astarghach*; these must be the two which Aūlūgh Beg Mirzā used to call his Khurāsān and Samarkand. **Pamghān** is another of the best, not ranking in fruit and grapes with those two others, but beyond comparison with them in climate. The Pamghān mountains are a snowy range. Few villages match Istālīf, with vineyards and fine orchards on both sides of its great torrent, with waters needing no ice, cold and, mostly pure. Of its Great garden, Aūlügh Beg Mirzā had taken forcible possession; I took it over, after paying its price to the owners.[53] There is a pleasant halting-place outside it, under great planes, green, shady and beautiful. A one-mill stream having trees on both banks, flows constantly through the middle of the *garden*; formerly its course was zig-zag and irregular. I had it made straight and orderly (into a masonry canal) so that the place has become very beautiful. Between the village and the valley-bottom, from 4 to 6 miles down the slope, is a **spring**, known as *Khwājah Sīh-Yārān* (Three Friends), round which three types of trees grow. A group of planes gives pleasant shade above it. Holm-oak (*Quercus bīlūt*) grows in masśes on the slope at its sides. Except on these two oaklands (*bīlūtistān*), no holm-oak grows in the mountains of western Kabul. Judas-tree (*arghwān*) (*Cercis siliquastrum*) is much cultivated in front of it, that is, towards the level ground. It is not found anywhere else. People say the three different sorts of trees were a gift made by three saints: Khwājah Maudūd of Chisht, Khwājah Khāwand Sa'īd and the Khwājah of the Running Sands, hence its name: Khwājah

Sīh-Yārān spring. I ordered that the spring should be enclosed in masonry stone-work, 10 by 10 (*qārī* = yard), and that a symmetrical light-angles (square) platform should be built on each of its sides, so as to overlook the whole field of Judas-trees. If, the world over, there is a place to match this when the **arghwāns** are in full bloom, I do not know. The yellow *arghawān* grows plentifully there also, the red and the yellow flowering at the same time.[54]

In order to bring water to a **large round seat** which I had built on the hillside and planted round with willows, I had a **channel** dug across the slope from the half-mill stream, constantly flowing in a valley to the south-west of *Sīh-Yārān.* The date of cutting this channel was found in: ''*Jui-Khush*'' (Kindly Channel =925/1519).

Another of the *tūmāns* of Kabul is **Luhūgur** (modern Logar). Its one large village is *Chirkh* from which hailed Maulānā Yā'qūb and Mullā-zādā 'Uthmān. Khwājah Aḥmad and Khwājah Yūnus were from *Sajāwand*, another of its villages.Chirkh has many gardens, but there is none in any other village of *Luhūgur.* Its people are Aūghān-shāl, a term common in Kabul, seemingly to be a mispronouncement of Aūghān-sha'ār.[55]

Again, there is the *wilāyat*, or, as some say, *tūmān* of **Ghaznī,** the capital of Sabak-tīgīn,[56] Sulṭān Maḥmūd and their descendants. Many write it as Ghaznīn. It is said also to have been the seat of the government of Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghūrī (d. 602/1206), styled Mu'izzu'd-Dīn in the *'Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (of Minhāj) and also some of the histories of Hind.[57]

Ghaznīn is known also as *Zabulistān.* It belongs to the Third Climate.Some hold that Qandahār is a part of it. It lies 14 *yīghāch* (= 85 miles) south-west of Kabul. Those leaving it at dawn may reach Kabul between the Two prayers, (that is, in the afternoon), whereas the 13 *yīghāch* between Adīnāpur and Kābul can never be done in one day, because of the difficulties of the road.

Ghaznīn has little cultivated land. Its torrent, probably a four-mill or five-mill stream, makes the town habitable and fertilizes four or five villages. Three or four others are cultivated from under-ground water-courses (*kārez*). Ghaznīn *grapes* are better than those of Kabul. Its *melons* are more abundant. Its *apples* are very good and are carried to Hindustān. Agriculture is very laborious in Ghaznīn because, whatever the quality of the soil, it must be freshly top-dressed every year. However, it gives a better return than Kabul. Ghaznīn grows madder; the **entire crop goes to Hindustān** and yields excellent profit

to the growers. In the open country of Ghaznīn dwell Hazārā and Afghāns. Compared with Kabul, it is always a cheap place. Its people, adherents of the 'Ḥanafī faith, are good, orthodox Muṣalmāns. Many of them keep a three months' fast (Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramaḍhān)[58] and their wives and children live modestly secluded.

One of the eminent men of Ghaznīn was Mullā 'Abdur-Raḥmān, a learned man and always a learner (*dars*), a most orthodox, pious and virtuous person. He left this world the same year in which Nāṣir Mirzā died (921/1515). Sulṭān Maḥmūd's tomb is in the suburb called **Rauḍa**[59] from which the best grapes come. There are also the tombs of his descendants, Sulṭān Mas'ūd and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. In fact, there are many famous tombs in Ghaznīn. The year I took Kabul (1505) and Ghaznīn, over-ran Kohāt, the plain of Bannū and lands of the Afghans, I went on to Ghaznīn by way of Dūkī (Dūgī) and Ab-Istāda.There people told me that there was a tomb, in a village of Ghaznīn, which moved when a benefiction on the Prophet was pronounced over it. We went to see it. I discovered that the movement was a trick, presumably by the servants at the tomb, who had put a sort of platform above it which moved when pushed, so that, to those on it, the tomb seems to move, just as the shore does to those passing a boat. I ordered the scaffold destroyed and a dome built over the tomb. I also forbade the servants, with threats, ever to bring about the movement again.

Ghaznīn is a very humble place and it is strange that its rulers in whose hands were Hindustān and Khurāsānāt (countries groupable as Khurāsān) should have chosen it for their capital. In Sulṭān Maḥmūd's time, there may have been three or four dams in the country. He made one, some three *yighāch* (18 miles) up the Ghaznīn-water to the north. it was about 40-50 *qārī* (yards) high and some 300 *qārī* long. Stored water was let out through it as required. This dam was destroyed by 'Alāu'd-Dīn **Jahān-soz** Ghūrī when he conquered the country (AH 550/1152 AD). He also burned and destroyed the tombs of several descendants of Sulṭan Maḥmūd and wreaked unprecedented havoc on the town. Since that time, this dam is lying in ruins, but, through God's favour, there is hope that it may be put to use again, by means of the money which was sent, through Khwājah Kalān, in the year Hindustān was conquered (932/1526). The *Sakhan*-dam is another situated about 2 or 3 *yighāch* (12-18 miles) to the east of the town. It has also been long in ruins and is beyond repair. The third dam is at *Sar-i-dih* (Village-head). It is in working order.

It is written in some books that, in Ghaznīn, there is a spring in which if dirt and foul matter is thrown, a tempest rises instantly, with

a blizzard of rain and wind. It has also been confirmed in one of the histories that when beṣieged by the Rāi (Jaipāl) of Hind, Sabuk-tigīn ordered dirt and foul things to be thrown into the spring and, in an instant, a tempest with blizzard of rain and sonw arose and drove off the foe. Though we made many inquiries, the spring could not be traced.

In these countries *Ghaznīn* and *Khwarizm*, are noted for cold, in the same way as Sulṭāniyā and Tabrīz are in the two 'Īrāqs and Azarbaijān.

Zurmut is another *tūmān*, some 12-13 *yighāch* south of Kabul and 7-8 south-east of Ghaznīn. Its *dārogha's* head-quarters are in Gīrdīz. There most houses are three or four storeys high. It is strong place to defend and gave Nāṣir Mirzā a tough fight. Its people are *Aūghān-shāl*. They grow corn, but have neither vineyards nor orchards. The tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad Muṣalmān is at a spring, high on the skirt of a mountain, known as Barakistān, in the south of the *tūmān*.

Farmūl is another *tūmān*,[60] an humble place, growing apples which are carried into Hindustan. The Shaikh-zādas, descendants of Shaikh Muḥammad Muṣalmān who were so much in favour during the Afghān period in Hindustān were from Farmūl.

Bangash is the last *tūmān* of Kabul.[61] All round about it are Afghān highwaymen, such as the *Khūgīānī, Khirilchī, Tūrī* and *Landar*. Lying out-of-the-way, as it does, its people do not pay taxes willingly. I did not have time to bring it to obedience as I was engaged in greater tasks such as conquests of Qandahār, Balkh, Badakhshān and Hindustān. But, God willing, when I get the chance I will subdue those **Bangash thieves**.

One of the *bulūks* of Kabul is Āla-sāī, 2-3 *shar'ī* (4 to 6 miles) east of Nijr-aū (between Nijr-aū and Tag-aū). The direct road into it from Nijr-aū leads, at a place called Kūra, through the quite small pass which in that locality separates the hot and cold climates. Through this pass, the birds migrate at the change of seasons, and at those times many are taken by the people of *Pīchghān*, one of the dependencies of Nijr-aū, in the following manner. They make hiding-places for the bird-catchers intermittently near the mouth of the pass. They fasten one corner of a net five or six yards away, and weight the lower side to the ground with stones. Along the other side of the net, for half its width, they fasten a stick some 3 to 4 yards long. The hidden bird-catcher (*chiḍīmār*) holds this stick and by it, when the birds approach lifts up the net to its full height. The birds are thus caught into the net.

Sometimes so many are taken by this contrivance that there is no time to kill them in the lawful manner (that is, by prononucing *'Bismillah'*).

Though the *Ālā-sāī* pomegranates are not first-rate, they have local reputation because none better are found there. They are carried to Hindustan. Grapes are grown there and the wines of Ālā-sāī are better and stronger than those of Nijr-aū.

Badr-aū (Tag-aū) is another *bulūk* (of Kabul).[62] It runs with Ālā-sāī. Fruits are not grown here because Kāfir cultivators of this region prefer to grow corn.

Revenue of Kabul

The revenues of Kabul, whether from the cultivated lands or from tolls (*tamghā*) or from dwellers in the open country, amount to 8 *lakhs* of *Shāhrukhīs* (= Rs. 3,20,000/-).[63]

The Mountain-Tracts of Kabul

While the mountains of Andar-āb, Khwāst (Khost) and Badakhshān have *conifers* (*archa*), many springs and gentle slopes, those of eastern Kabul have grass (*aūt*) which all, on hill, slope and dale, looks like a beautiful green carpet. For the most part, it is *būta-kāh* grass (*aūt*) which is very suitable for horses. In the Andijān country, people speak of *būta-kāh*, but why they do so was not known. It is spoken as such in Kabul because the grass comes up in tufts (*būta*).[64] The alps of these mountains are like those of Hiṣār, Khutlān, Farghāna, Samarkand and Mughūlistān. All these are alike in mountain and alp, though the alps of Farghāna and Mughūlistān are beyond comparison with the rest.

From all these *mountains* of Nijr-aū, the Lamghānāt and Sawād (Swāt) differ in having masses of cypresses (*Cypressus torulosa*), holm-oak, olive and *mastik* (*khanjak*). Their grass is also different. It is dense and tall, and is good neither for horse nor sheep. Although these mountains are not so high as those already described, indeed they look to be low, nonetheless they are strongholds. What to the eye is even slope, really is hard rock on which it is impossible to ride. Many of the **beasts and birds of Hindustān** such as parrot (*shuk*), *mīnā* (*sārikā*), peacock (*mor, taus*) and *lūja* (*lūkha*), the ape (*maimūn*), *nīl-gāu* and hog-deer (*kūta-pāī*) are found here. But there are others which are not found in Hindustān.

The mountains to the west of Kabul as Zindān-valley, the 'Ṣūf-valley, Garzawān and Gharjistān (Gharchastān) are all of one sort. Their meadows are mostly in the dales. They do not have the

same sweep of grass on slope and top, as some of those which have been described, nor have they masses of trees. However, they have grass suitable for horses. On their flat tops, where all the crops are grown, there is ground where a horse can gallop. They have masses of *kiyik* (wild sheep and wild goats, includeing *mār-khwār*). Their valley-bottoms are strongholds, mostly precipitous and inaccessible from above. It is remarkable that, **whereas other mountains have their fastnesses in their high places, these have theirs below.**

Of one sort again are the mountains of Ghūr, Karnūd (v. Kuzūd) and Hazāra. Their meadows are in their dales. Their trees are few, even *archa* (conifer) is not there. Their grass is fit for horses and sheep that the people tend there. But they do not have their strongholds in valley-bottoms.

The mountains (situated south-east of Kabul) of Khwājah Ismāīl, Dasht, Dūgī (Dūkī)[65] and Afghānistān are all alike, that is, all are low, with little vegetation and water, treeless and ugly and good-for-nothing. But still the people live in them contented—how correct is the saying:

''Tīng būlmā-ghūncha tūsh būlmās''

(A narrow place is large enough to the narrow-minded).[66]

There are only a few such useless and disgusting mountains in the world.

Firewood of Kabul

The snowfall being so heavy in Kabul, it is fortunate that excellent **firewood** is available in the neighbourhood of Kabul. Given one day to fetch it, wood can be had of the *khanjak* (mastic), *bīlūt* (holm-oak) *bādāmchā* (small almond) and *qarqand*. Of these *khanjak* wood is the best. It burns with flame and smells nice, makes plenty of hot ashes (coal) and does well even if sappy. Holm-oak is also first-rate firewood, blazing less than mastic but, like it, making a hot fire with plenty of hot ashes, and nice smell. It has the peculiarity in burning that when its leafy branches are set alight, they fire up with amazing sound, blazing and crackling from bottom to top. **It is good fun to burn it.** The wood of the small-almond is the most plentiful and commonly used but it does not make a lasting fire. *Qarqand* is quite a low shrub, thorny and burning sappy or dry. Ghaznīn people use it as fuel.[67]

Fauna of Kabul

The cultivated lands of Kabul lie between mountains which are like great dams to the flat valley-bottoms in which are situated most of the villages and settlements (hamlets). On these mountains *kīyik* and

āhū (wild goats, sheep and deer) are scarce. Across them, between its summer and winter quarters. The *dun*-sheep (*qīzīl-kīyik*), the *arqārghalchā*, have their regular track[68] to which brave hunters go out with dogs and birds[69] to take them. Towards *Khurd-Kabul* (Small Kabul) and the *Surkh-Rūd*, there is wild ass, but there are no white *kīyik* at all. Ghaznīn has both, and in few other places white *kīyik* are found in good condition.[70]

The fowling grounds of Kabul are crowded in summers. **Birds** take their way along the Bārān-water because the river has mountains along it, east and west, and a great Hindūkush pass in a line with it, by which birds must cross since there is no other nearby. They cannot cross when the north wind blows, or if there is even a little cloud on the Hindūkush. At such times, they descend on the level lands of the Bārān-water and are taken in great numbers by the local people. Towards the end of winter, dense flocks of mallards (*aūrdūq*) reach the banks of the Bārān. Great birds like cranes and herons follow them in large flocks and countless numbers.[71]

Bird-catching

Along the river Bārān, people take masses of cranes (*tūrnā*) with the cord, and also *aūqār, qarqara* and *qūṭān*.[72] Their method of bird-catching is unique. They twist a cord as long as the arrow's (*gīz's*) flight, tie the arrow at one end and a *bīldurgā*[73] at the other, and wind it up, from the arrow-end, on a piece of wood, span-long and wrist-thick, right up to the *bīldurgā*. Then they pull out the piece of wood, leaving just the hole it was in. The *bīldurgā* being held fast in the hand, the arrow is shot off towards the coming flock. If the cord twists round a neck or wing, it brings athe bird down. On the Bārān everyone takes birds in this way. It is a little difficult. It must be done on rainy nights, because on such nights birds do not alight,but fly continually and fly low till dawn, in fear of ravening beasts of prey. Through the night, the flowing river is their road, its moving water showing through the dark. Then it is, while they come and go, up and down the river, that the cord is shot. One night I shot it but it broke in drawing in. Both bird and cord were brought to me next day. By this device Bārān people catch the many herons from which they take the turban-aigrettes sent from Kabul for sale in Khurāsān.

Of **bird-catchers**, there is also the band of slave fowlers, two or three hundred households, whom some descendants of Tīmūr Beg induced to migrate from near Multān to the Bārān region.[74] Bird-catching is their trade. They dig tanks, set decoy-birds (*milwāh*)

on them, put a net over the middle, and in this way take all sorts of birds. Not fowlers only catch birds, in fact, every dweller on the Bārān does it, whether by shooting the cord, setting the spring, or in various other ways.

Fishing

The **fish** of the Bārān migrate at the same seasons as birds. At those times many are netted, and many are taken on wattles (*Chīgh*) fixed in the water. In autumn when the plant known as *wild-ass-tail* (*qūlān qūyirūghī*) comes to maturity, flowered and seeded, people take 10-20 loads (of seed) and 20-30 of green branch (*gūk-shībāk*) to some head of water, break it up into small pieces and cast it in. Going into the water, they can at once pick up **drugged fish**. At some convenient place lower down, in a hole below a fall, they fix up before-hand a wattle of finger-thick willow-withes, making it firm by piling stones on its sides. The water goes rushing and dashing through the wattle, but leaves on it any fish that may have come floating down. This way of catching fish is practised in *Gul-Bahār, Parwān* and *Istālīf*.

Fish are had in winter in the *Lamghānāt* by this curious device. People dig a pit, (that is, a pond) to the depth of a house, in the bed of a stream, below a fall, line it with stones like a cooking-place, and build up stones round it above, leaving one opening only, under water. Except by this one opening, fish have no inlet or outlet, but the water finds its way through the stones. This makes a sort of **fish-pond** from which, when wanted in winter, fish can be taken 30-40 together. Except at the opening, left where convenient, the sides of the fish-pond are made fast with rice-straw, kept in places by stones. A piece of wicker-work is pulled into the said opening by its edges, gathered together, and into this a second piece (a tube) is inserted, fitting it at the mouth but reaching half-way into it only (like a lobster-pot). The fish go through the smaller piece into the larger one, out from which they cannot get. The second narrows towards its inner mouth, its pointed ends being drawn so close that the fish, once entered, cannot turn, but must go on, one by one, into the larger piece. Out of that, they cannot return because of the pointed ends of the inner, narrow mouth. The wicker-work fixed and the rice-straw making the pond fast, whatever fish are inside can be taken out; any also which, trying to excape may have gone into the wicker-work are taken in it, because they have no way out. This method of catching fish we have seen nowhere else.[75]

Notes and References

1. Vide *BN* 199-227 and HCodex, fs. 128-144; Kabul was an integral and inseparable part of Medieval India and a province *(ṣūbah)* of the Mughal Empire, and no acount of medieval (precisely, Mughal) India would be complete without a description of Kabul: its terrain, people, life, language, culture, fauna and flora. Hence, our preference to include it in *India As Seen by Babur* and take this narrative back to 1504 AD when it was captured by Babur. Beveridge translated it from Haidarabad ms. folios 128 to 144. Babur described it in the present tense and this form has not been changed. Beveridge's critical notes have, however, been edited, rearranged and rewritten. The text has also been revised.
2. Babur limits the name Afghānistān to the countries inhabited by Afghān tribesmen, they are chiefly those south of the road from Kābul to Peshāwar.
3. Kabul was ruled both by Turk and Hindū-Shāhī kings. See Raverty's *Notes*, p.62; Stein's *Shāhī Kings of Kābul*, and more specifically, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sāhīs* by Abdur Rehman (Islamabad 1979).
4. The Kābul river enters the *chār-dīh* plain by the *Dih-i-Yāq'ūb* narrows and leaves it by those of *Durrin.*
5. Known as the *Bālā-Jūī* (upper canal), it was a four-mill stream and supplied water to the gardens round Babur's tomb.
6. The place made holy by an impress of saintly footsteps.
7. Two eagles or two poles used for punishment. It was also known as *'Āshiqān-i-'ārifān*, connected with Babur.
8. This wind rushes through the *Hindūkush* (Parwān) pass during most of the year. It checks migration of the birds and it may be the cause of the deposit of the running-sands.
9. He was Badī'uz-Zamān's Ṣadr before serving Babur. He died in 918/1512 in the battle of *Kūl-i-malik* where 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Aūzbeg defeated Babur.
10. It conceals the meaning that like Badī'uz-Zamān and his name, Kabul is a Wonder of the World.
11. Khitā (Cathay) is Northern China.
12. Rūm is Turkey and particularly the provinces near Trebizond.
13. Into his own garden in *Ningnahār.*
14. *Chihil-goza*(?) or the seeds of *Pinus Gerardiana.*
15. A large green fruit, shaped something like a citron.
16. *'Ṣāḥibī,* a grape praised by Babur amongst Samarkandi fruits, grows in *Koh-dāman*, Another well known grape is the long stoneless *ḥusainī*, brought by Afghān traders into Hindustān in round, flat boxes of poplar wood.
17. The highest *cols* on these passes are enumerated by Babur as follows: *Khawāk*, 11640 ft; *'Ṭūl*, height not known; *Pārandī*, 15984 ft; *Bāj-gāh*

(toll-place) 12000 ft; *Walīān* (Saints) 15100; *Chahār-dār* (Four-doors) 18900 ft, and *Shibr-tu* 9800 ft. In considering the labour of their ascent and descent,the general high level, north and south of them should be borne in mind, that is, *Chārikār* (*Chār-yak-kār*) stands 5200 ft. and *Kabul* itself at 5780 ft. above the sea.

18. In Hazārā district between the head of the *Ghūr-band* valley and *Bāmiān*. To the name of the pass, '*Tū*' (turn, twist) must suffix.
19. Located on the *Īrī-āb* at Bāghzān, 35 *kurohs* (70 miles) S-S-E of Kabul, cf. Raverty *Notes*, p. 92 ff.
20. At the village *Ūrghūn*.
21. 15 miles below *Attock*.
22. By one of the two routes, either by the Khaibar-Ningnahār-Jagdālīk road, or along the north bank of the Kābul-river, through Goshta.
23. Which was situated in the neighbourhood of modern Kālā-bāgh on the east bank of the Indus before it was washed away.
24. Modern *Dāman*.
25. Viz. 'Alī-Shāng, Alangār and Mandrāwar (the Lamghānāt proper), Ningnahār (with its *bulūk*, Kāma), Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal (and the two *bulūks* of Nūr valley and Chaghān-sarāi).
26. For full details, see Appendix — E: *'Nagarhār and Ning-nahār' BN*, xvii-xxiii.
27. The Bādām-Chasmā pass appears to be a traverse of the eastern rampart of the *Tīzīn*-valley.
28. Presumably to his son Humayun, then governor in Badakhshān. Bukhārā was also under Babur's rule.
29. Which seems to have been brought from the mountains for this use.
30. That is, the Lamghānāt proper. The range is variously named: in (Persian) Siyāh-koh (Black-mountain) which like Turkī Qarā-tāgh may mean non-snowy; by Tājiks, Bāgh-i-ātāka (Foster-father's garden); by Afghāns, Kanda-ghūr, and by Lamghānīs Koh-i-Būlan, Kanda and Bulan both being ferry stations below it.
31. For Aūlūgh-nūr see Appendix—F: '*On the Name Darā-i-Nūr*', *BN* xxiii-xxiv.
32. Whirling-wind. A number of pass-names as Shibr-tū, Jāl-tū and Qarā-tu in which '*tū*' is a synonym of '*pīch*' (turn or twist) has been used in this narrative. Thus *Bād-i-pīch* may be the local form of Bād-tū (windly-turn).
33. See *BN* Appendix—F: '*On the Name Darā-i-Nūr*' op.cit.
34. *Diospyrus*-lotus, the European date-palm supposed to be one of the fruits eaten by the Lotophagi. It is purple, has bloom and is of the size of a pigeon's egg or a cherry.
35. In Luhūgur vines are clipped into standards; in most other places in Afghānistān they are planted in deep trenches and allowed to run over the intervening ridges or over wooden framework. In the narrow

Khulm-valley they are trained up poplars so as to secure the maximum of sun.

36. See Appendix—G: '*On the Names of Two Darā-i-Nūr Wines*' *BN*, xxv.
37. The saint who was most revered in Kashmīr but was buried in Khutlān.
38. *Karanj*, *Coriandrum sativum.*
39. Some 20-24 miles north of Jalālābād. The name Multa-kundi may refer to the Rām-Kundī range. The lower part of the *tūmān* of Kunār-with-Nūr-gal is known as Multa-Kundī, what is below (that is, on the river) belongs to the valley of Nūr and to Atar.
40. It would suit the position of this village if its name were found to link to the Turki verb '*chaqmāq*', to go out, because it lies in the mouth of the defile (*Dahānah-i-koh* = Mountain-mouth) through which the road for Kāfiristān goes out past the village.
41. That is, water of Nijr, like Badr-aū and Tag-aū (water of Badr and water of Tag). Nijr-aū has seven valleys.
42. They were *kāfirs*, converted to Islam.
43. *Archa*, meaning conifer, may represent *Juniperus excelsa,* this being the common local conifer. Other trees of the list are *Pinus Gerardiana, quercusbīlūt* (the holm-oak) and *Pistacia mutica* or *khanjak*, a tree yielding mastic.
44. *Rūba-i-Parwān, pteromys inornatus*, the large red flying squirrel.
45. *Gīz* is a short-flight arrow used for shooting small birds.
46. Apparently *Tetrogallus himalayensis*, the Himalayan snow-cock. *Kabg-i-darī* was the *rara-avis* of the Kābul-Kohistān region, somewhat less than a turkey and the *chikor* (partridge) species. It was procured for him first in Ghūr-bund, but when snow has fallen, it could be had nearer Kābul. Babur's *bū-qalamūn* may have come into his vocabulary either as a survival direct from Greek occupation of Kābul and Panj-āb, or through Arabic writings.
47. Greek partridge, *tetrao-* or *perdrix-rufus.*
48. *Bund* means *koh.* The confusion is because the place is both a *tūmān* and a *kutal* (that is, a steady rise to a traverse). Ghūr-bund applies to the embanking spur at the head of the valley-*tūmān* across which roads lead to Ghūrī and Ghūr.
49. It will be noticed that these villages are not classed in any *tūmān*; they include places 'rich without parallel' in agricultural products, and level lands on which towns have risen and fallen, one being Alexandria and Caucasum. They cannot have been part of the unremunerative *Ghūr-bund tūmān*; from their place of mention in Babur's List of *tūmāns*, they may have been part of the Kabul *tūmān* as was *Koh-dāman.*
50. Where good pasture is available for horse *qāfilas.*
51. 'West' might be more exact since some of the group are a little north, other's a little south of the latitude of Kabul.

52. In some cases, these are only affluents and not true sources.
53. This shows that Babur, even in the so-called medieval ages, strictly adhered to the civilized code of conduct and followed the **principle of Legitimacy**. This man could not have destroyed a temple and appropriated its land for building a mosque.
54. The yellow flowered plant is called *makaka* in Persian. It is a shrubby plant with pea-like blossoms common in the plains of Persia, Biluchistān and Kābul.
55. Of Afghan habit. The same term is applied to the Zurmutīs; it may be explained in both cases by Babur's statement that Zurmutīs grow corn, but do not cultivate *gardens* or orchards.
56. Sabuk-tigīn (d. 387/997) was father of the famous Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznīn (d. 421/1030).
57. Which shows that Babur was fully conversant with the histories of India and **he was a well-read person**.
58. ''They fast in the day and feast in the night.''
59. It denotes a mausoleum situated in a garden enclosure. Babur's reference shows that the concept of '*Rauḍah*' was already prevalent before the Great Mughals.
60. Whence came Farmūlīs who were, perhaps, Turks and Tājuks.
61. Babur thus described 14 *tūmāns* of Kabul as follows:
    1. Ningnahār,
    2. 'Alī-Shāng,
    3. Alangār,
    4. Mandrāwar,
    5. Kunār-with-Nūr-gal,
    6. Nijr-aū,
    7. Panjhir,
    8. Ghūr-bund,
    9. Koh-dāman,
    10. Luhūgar,
    11. Ghaznīn,
    12. Zurmūt,
    13. Farmūl, and
    14. Bangash.
62. Thus Babur described five *bulūks* of Kabul, as follows:
    1. Badr-aū (Tag-aū),
    2. Nūr-valley,
    3. Chaghān-sarāi,
    4. Kāma, and,
    5. 'Ālā-sāī

63. at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *shāhrukhīs* = one *rupiyā*

64. It was a fodder, which could have grown in tufts (*būta*). Persian word *būta* meaning 'bush' also may have a relevance. '*Kāh*' means 'plant' rather than 'grass'.

65. While *Dasht* (plain) represents the eastern skirt of the Mehtar Sulaimān range, *dūkī* or *dūgī* (desert) seems to stand for the hill tracts on the west of it.

66. This is typical of Babur's character, who had a vision of the world at large, a great ambition to found an empire and courage and forbearance to struggle for it.

67. Though a king, Babur has graphically described such a commoner's item as 'firewood'. This shows how closely did he observe life of the people and faithfully and aptly recorded it. Was he writing a King's Diary or the **People's Encyclopaedia** ?

68. Tusqāwal, v. *tutqāwal, tusaqāwal* and *tushqāwal, tūs* being the act of stopping, equivalent to *shikār-i-nihilan*.

69. *Qūshlik, aitlīk*; there were excellent greyhounds and hawking birds in the region; here the bird may be '*charkh*' that works with dogs fastening on the head of the game.

70. An antelope resembling the usual one of the Hindustān is common south of Ghaznīn. What is not found there may be some classes of wild-sheep which is frequent further north, at higher elevation, and in place's more familiar to Babur.

71. *Tūrnā-u-qarqara*; the later is Hindi *Būglā*, heron, *egret ardea gazetta*.

72. *Aūqār* is *ardea cinerea*, the grey heron; *qarqara* is *ardea gazetta*, the egret. Qūtān is *khawāsil*, goldfinch or, better, *qodan*, water-hen.

73. A small, round-headed nail with which a whip-handle is decorated. Such a stud would keep the cord from slipping through the fingers and would not check the arrow-release.

74. For details of this migration, see Raverty's *Notes*, p. 579 and his Appendix, p. 22.

75. Kābulīs went out for the amusement of catching fish as they try to leap up the fall situated some 20 miles from Kabul at '*Tangi-Gharoi*' (below where the Tag-aū joins the Bārān water.

76. *BN*, 645-48.

77. For a detailed description of Babur's Gardens at Kabul reference may also be made to the *BN*, pp. lxxix-lxxxi, Appendix—V: '*Babur's Gardens in and near Kābul*'.

APPENDIX — B

BABUR'S ARCHITECTURAL PROJECTS AT KABUL

(Referred to in his letter to Khwājah Kalān, dated 10 February 1529)[76]

The things which must be done are these: the repair of the fort (of Kabul); the provision of stores therein; the daily allowance and loading of *aīlchī* (envoys) going backwards and forward; **let money taken legally from revenue** be spent for building the *Jāmi' Masjid* (Congregational Mosque); the repairs of the *Caravan-Sarai* and *ḥaṇmāms*; the completion of the unfinished building **made of burnt brick** which Ustād Ḥasan Alī was constructing in the citadel (of Kabul). Let this work be ordered after taking counsel with Ustād Sulṭān Muḥammad. If a **design** exists, drawn earlier by Ustād Ḥasan Alī, let Ustād Sulṭan Muḥammad finish the building precisely according to it; if not, let him do so, after making a gracious and harmonious design, and in such a way that its floor shall be level with that of the **Audience-hall**.

These things have also to be done: the repair of the Khwurd-Kābul **dam** which is to hold up the *But-Khāk* water at its exit from the Khwurd-Kābul narrows; the repair of the Ghaznīn **dam**; the **Avenue-Garden** in which water is short and for which a one-mill stream must be diverted; I had brought water from Tūtūm-Dara to the rising ground south-west of Khwājah Basta, there made a reservoir and planted young trees. The place got the name of *nazar-gāh* (Belvedere) because it faces the ford and gives a beautiful view of the landscape. The best of young trees must be planted there, lawns arranged, and borders set with sweet-herbs and with flowers of beautiful colour and scent.[77]

3

DESCRIPTION OF HINDUSTAN[1]

(AH 932/18 October 1525 to 8 October 1526 AD)

The Hindustān Country

Babur referred to northern India, that is, the Punjab and Indo-Gangetic plains as **Hindustān**. In 1508 while he was at Kābul, Shaibāq (Shaibānī) Khān Uzbeg besieged Qandahār. Babur's Turk and Chaghtāī friends and relations deserted him and joined the enemy. He was greatly disappointed and noted: ''with no means of making terms, no strength to oppose that, in the presence of such power and potency, we had to think of some place for ourselves and, at this crisis and in the crack of time there was, to put a wider space between us and the strong foeman; that choice lay between Badakhshān and **Hindustān**.''[2] There was difference of opinion among his nobles but he preferred to go towards Hindustān and actually started soon thereafter, though the project had to be abandoned[3] in the face of the circumstances. In fact, he was tired and despaired of the treacherous and elusive Central Asian politics and wanted to found a kingdom of his own somewhere else, and Hindustān offered best prospects to him and a military venture into Hindustān was constantly in his mind. His narrative shows that he was continously thinking on this matter and making precise plans.[4] In all, he is recorded to have made five expeditions into Hindustān, for examples, in 910/1504-5[5]; 925/1519[6]; 926/1520[7]; 930/1523-24[8]; and 932/1525-26[9]

He crossed the river (Indus; *Nīl-āb*) for the first time on 17 February 1519 and noted:

> As it was always in my heart to possess Hindustān, and as these several countries, Bhīra, Khush-āb, Chin-āb and Chiniut (Chiniot) had once been held by the Turk, I pictured them as my own and was resolved to get them into my hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat these hillmen well, this following order was given: 'Do not hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton-ends and broken needles.'[10]

It was, in fact, to celebrate his expedition into Hindustān, which was his most cherished ambition that he named his son 'Hind-āl':

> On Friday (4 March 1519) the foot-soldiers Shaibak and Darwesh-i-'Alī brought news also of Hind-āl's birth. As the news came during the expedition into Hindustān, I took it as an omen, and gave the name **Hind-āl (Taking of Hind)**.[11]

When Babur first started for **Hindustān** (January 1505), he met with different things and was greatly surprised: ''Till that time I had never seen a hot country or the Hindustān borderland. In Ningnahār another world came to view—other grasses, other trees, other animals, other birds and other manners, and customs of clan and horde. We were amazed and truly there was ground for amaze.''[12] He mentioned the peculiar Indian custom of submission and surrender when the vanquished people of the region ''powerless to resist'' went before him ''with grass between their teeth, this being as much as to say: 'I am your cow.'''[13] Near Bannū, he dismounted on a waterless plain (*qūl*) and recorded:

> The soldiers got water here for themselves, their herds and so on, by digging down, from one to one-and-a-half yards, into the dry water-course, when water came. Not here only did this happen, **for all the rivers of Hindustān have the peculiarity** that water is safe to be found by digging down from one to one-and-a-half yards in their beds. It was a wonderful provision of God that where, except for the great rivers, there are no running-waters, water should be so placed within reach in dry water-courses.[14]

He had not seen a '**Rehaṇṭ**'(Water-Wheel) before and was amused to see one in the Punjab for the first time: ''(11 March 1519) on Friday, we rode out on an excursion, crossed the water (the river Jhelum) by boat and went about amongst the orchards (*bāghāt*) of blossoming trees and the lands of the sugar-cultivation. We saw the **wheel with buckets**, had water drawn and asked particulars about getting it out; indeed, we made them draw it again and again.''[15]

Babur did not make a good opinion about the people of Hindustān and was particularly frustrated by his dealings with the Afghāns. He commented: ''Far from sense and wisdom, shut off from judgement and counsel must people in Hindustān, be, the Afghāns above all; for they could not move and make stand like a foe, nor did they know ways and rules of friendliness.''[16] He complained, particularly of the wild and uncivilized ways of the Punjāb *jāṭ* and *gūjar* tribes:

> (29 December 1525) on Friday the 14th of the first Rabi', we dismounted at Siālkot. If one go into Hindustān the *Jāṭs* and *Gūjars* always pour down in countless hordes from hill and plain

for loot in bullock and buffalo. These ill-omened people are just senseless oppressors! Formerly their doings did not concern us much because the country was an enemy's, but they began the same senseless work after we had taken it. When we reached Siālkoṭ, they fell in tumult on poor and needy folks who were coming out of the town to our camp, and stripped them bare. I had the silly thieves sought for, and ordered two or three of them cut to pieces.[17]

The country of Hindustān is extensive, full of men and full of produce. On the east, south, and even on the west, it ends at its great enclosing ocean. On the north it has mountains which are connected with those of the Hindūkush, Kāfiristān and Kashmīr. North-west of it lie Kābul, Ghaznīn and Qandahār. **Dihlī** (Delhī) is held to be the capital of the whole of Hindustān. From the death of Shiḥābu'd-Dīn Ghūrī (602/1206) to the latter part of the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tūghlūq (Tūghlūq Turk, d. 790/1388), the greater part of Hindustān must have been under the rule of the Sulṭāns of Dihlī.

Hindustān is of the first climate, the second climate and the third climate; of the fourth climate it has none. **It is a wonderful country**. Compared with other countries, its towns, its cultivated lands, its animals and its plants, its peoples and their tongues, its rains, and its winds, are all different. In some respects, the hot-country (*garm-sīl*) that depends on Kābul, is like Hindustān, but in others, it is different. Once the water of Sind is crossed,everything is in the **Hindustān way** (*tāriq*): land, water, tree, rock, people and horde, opinion and custom.

Contemporary Rulers

At the time of my conquest of Hindustān, it was governed by five Musalmān rulers and two Pagans (*kāfirs*; infidels; non-Muslims). These were the respected and independent rulers, but there were also, in hills and jungles, many smaller *rāis* and *rājās*.

First, there were the *Afghāns* who had possession of Dihlī, the capital, and held the country from Bhîra to Bıhār. Jaunpur, before their time, had been in possession of Sulṭān 'Ḥusain Sharqī (d. 905/1500) whose dynasty the Hindustānīs called *Sharqī* (*Pūrabī*; eastern). His ancestors were the cup-bearers of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh and Tūghlūq Sulṭāns. They assumed sovereignty in Jaunpur after his death (790/1388). At that time, Dihlī was in the hands of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn (Ālam Khān) of the Sayyid dynasty, to whose ancestor Tīmūr Beg had given it (Dihlī)[18] when after having captured it, he returned to Samarqand. Sulṭān Bahlol Lodi and his son Sikandar Lodi got

possession of the capital Jaunpur and the capital Dihlī, and brought both under one government (881/1476).

Secondly, there was Sulṭān Muḥammad Muzaffar in *Gujarāt*. He died a few days before the defeat of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. He was skilled in the Law, a ruler seeking after knowledge and a regular copyist of the Holy Book (the *Qurān*). His dynasty people call **Tānk**.[19] His ancestors were also wine-servers to Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh and Tūghlūq sulṭāns. They possessed of Gujarāt after his death.[20]

Thirdly, there were the *Bahmanīs* of the Dakkan (Deccan), but at the present time they have no independent authority. Their great *begs* (nobles) have laid hands on the whole country, and they must be asked for whatever is needed.

Fourthly, there was Sulṭān Maḥmūd of *Mālwā* which people also call Māṇḍū (which was its capital). His dynasty they call Khilij (Khaljī) (Turk). Rānā Sāngā had defeated Sulṭān Maḥmūd and taken possession of most of his country. This dynasty also has been weak. Sulṭān Maḥamūd's ancestors also must have been cherished by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh; they possessed the Mālwā country after his death.[21]

Fifthly, there was Naṣrat Shāh[22] in the country of *Bengāl*. His father ('Ḥusain Shāh), a Sayyid styled 'Alāu'd-Dīn, had ruled in Bengāl and Naṣrat Shāh attained to rule by inheritance. A surprising custom in Bengāl is that hereditary succession is rare. The royal office is permanent and there are permanent offices of *amīrs*, *vazīrs* and *manṣabdārs* (officials). **It is the office that Bengālī regard with respect**.[23] Attached to each office is a body of obedient, subordinate retainers and servants. If the royal heart demand that a person should be dismissed and another be appointed to sit in hìs place, the whole body of subordinates attached to that office become the new office-holder's subordinate. There is indeed this peculiarity of the royal office itself that any person who kills the ruler and seats himself on the throne, became the ruler and *amīrs, vazīrs*, soldiers and peasants submit to him at once, obey him and recognize him for the rightful ruler his predecessor in office had been.[24] Bengālīs say, ''We are faithful to the throne; we loyally obey whoever occupies it.''[25]

As for instance, before the reign of Naṣrat Shāh's father 'Alāu'd-Dīn, an Abyssinian ('*Ḥabshī*, named Muzaffar Shāh) had killed his sovereign (Maḥmūd Shāh, *Ilyās*), ascended the throne and ruled for some time. 'Alāu'd-Dīn killed that Abyssinian, seated himself on the throne and became ruler. When he died, his son (Naṣrat) became ruler by inheritance. Another Bengālī custom is to regard it as

a disgraceful fault of a new ruler if he expend and consume the treasure of his predecessors. On coming to rule, he must gather treasure of his own. To amass treasure is regarded by Bengālīs as a glorious distinction. Another custom in Bengāl is that from ancient times *parganās* have been assigned to meet the charges of the treasury, stables and all royal expenditure and, to defray these charges, no impost is laid on other lands.

These five were the great Musalmān rulers, honoured in Hindustān, many-legioned and broad-landed. Of the Pagans (that is, the Hindus), the greater both in territory and army is the Rājā of *Vijaynagar* (Deccan).

The second is **Rānā Sāngā** who in these latter days had grown great by his own valour and sword. His original country was Chittorgadh (Mewār); in the downfall from power of the Māṇḍū (Mālwā) sulṭāns, he became possessed of many of their dependencies such as Ranthambhor, Sārangpur, Bhilsā and Chanderī. I stormed Chanderī in 934/1528[26] and, by God's pleasure, took it in a few hours. It was held by Rānā Sāngā's great and trusted man Medinī Rāi. We made general massacre of the Pagans (Hindus) in it and, as will be narrated, converted what for many years had been a mansion of hostility, into a mansion of Islam.[27]

There are very many *rāis* and *rājās* on all sides and quarters of Hindustān, some obedient to Islam[28] and some, because of their remoteness or because their places are fastnesses, not subject to Musalmān rule.

Of Northern Mountains

After crossing the Sind-river (eastwards), there are countries, in the northern mountains mentioned above, appertaining to Kashmīr and once included in it, although most of them, as for example, Paklī and Shāhmang(?) do not now obey it. Beyond Kashmīr, there are countless peoples and hordes, *parganās* and cultivated lands, **in the mountains**. People live continuously as far as Bengāl, as far indeed as the shore of the great ocean. About this procession (continuous inhabitation) of men, no-one has been able to give authentic information in reply to our enquiries and investigations.[29] So far people have been saying that they call these hill-men *Kas* (*Khas?*). It has struck to me that as a Hindustānī pronounces *shīn as sīn* (that is, *sh* as *s*) and as Kashmīr as the one respectable town in these mountains, no other indeed being heard of, Hindustānīs might pronounce it Kasmīr. These people trade

in *musk-bags, bāḥri-qūtās* (tassels of the yāk),[30] *saffron, lead* and *copper.*

Hindīs call these mountains **Sawālak-parbat** (Siwaliks). In the Hindī tongue, sawāī-lāk means one *lākh* and a quarter, that is, 1,25,000, and *parbat* means a hill, which makes 1,25,000 hills (or ranges). The snow on these mountains never melts; it is seen white from many districts of *Hind*, as for example, Lāhore, Sirhind and Sambhal. The range which in Kabul is known as Hindūkush, comes from Kābul eastwards into Hindustān, with slight inclination to the south. The **Hindustānāt** (the countries of Hindustān) are to the south of it. Tibet lies to the north of it and of that unknown horde called Kas.

Of Rivers

Many *rivers* rise in these mountains and flow through Hindustān. Six rise north of Sirhind, namely, Sind (Indus), Bahat, (Jhelum), Chenāb, Rāvī, Biāh (Biās) and Sutluj. All meet near Multān, flow westwards under the name of Sind (Sindh), pass through Tatta (Thattah) country and fall into the 'Umān (—sea).

Besides these six, there are others such as Jūn (Jamunā), Gang (Gaṅgā), Rāhap (Rāptī?), Gumtī (Gamti), Gagar (Ghagghar), Sīrū (Saryū), Gandak and many more. All unite with the *Gang-daryā* (Gaṅgā), flow east under its name, pass through the Bengal country, and are poured into the great ocean. They all rise in the Sawālak-parbat.

Many rivers rise in the Hindustān hills as for instance Chambal, Banās, Bītwī (Betwā), and Sūn (Son). There are no snow whatever on these mountains. Their waters also join the *Gang-daryā.*

Of the Arāvalli Hills

Another Hindustān range runs north and south. It begins in the Dihlī country at a small rocky hill on which is Firuz Shāh's residence called *Jahān-Numā* (World-reflecting) and, going on from there, appears near Dihlī in detached, very low, scatterd and rocky little hills (*pārcha-pārcha, kīchīkrāk-kīchīkrāk, āndā-mūndā, tashlīq-tāqghīna*). Beyond Miwāt, it enters the *Biānā* country.The hills of *Sīkrī, Bārī* and *Dholpur* are also part of the same including (ṭūṭā) range. The hill of *Gwalior*, although they are not connected with it, are off-sets of this range; so are the hills of *Ranthambhor, Chittorgadh, Chanderī* and *Māṇḍū*. They are cut off from it in some places by 7 to 8 *kurohs* (14 to 16 miles). These hills are very low, rough, rocky and **jungly**. No snow whatever falls on them. They are the makers, in Hindustan, of several rivers.

Irrigation

The greater part of the Hindustān country is situated on level land. Many though its towns and cultivated lands are, **it nowhere has running waters** (*āqār-sūlār = irrigation channels*). Rivers and in some places, standing waters are its 'running-waters'. Even where, as for some towns, it is practicable to convey water by digging channels (*ārīq*), this is not done. For not doing it there may be several reasons, one being that water is not at all a necessity in cultivating crops and orchards. Autumn crops grow by the downpour of the rains themselves; and strange it is that spring crops grow even when no rain falls. To young trees, water is made to flow by means of buckets or a wheel. They are given water constantly during two or three years, after which they need no more. Some vegetables are watered constantly.

In Lāhore, Dīpālpur and those parts (of Western Hindustān), people water by means of a *wheel* (*Rehaṇṭ*). They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten *pitchers*. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle, a second wheel is fixed, and close (*qāsh*) to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this, water is conveyed everywhere (through *nālīs*, channels).[31] (Plate-IV).

In Āgrā, Chandwār, Biānā and those parts, again, people water with a bucket. This (in comparison to *Rehaṇṭ*) is a laborious and filthy way. At the well-edge, they set up a fork of wood, having a roller (*charkhī*) adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bullock. One person must drive the bullock (towards a ramp) and another empty the bucket.[32] Every time the bullock turns after having drawn the bucket out of the well, that rope lies on the bullock-track, in pollution of urine and dung, before it descends again into the well. To some crops needing water, men and women carry water by repeated efforts in pitchers.

Other Particulars About Hindustān

The towns and country of Hindustān are greatly wanting in charm.[33] Its towns and lands are all of one sort. There are no walls to the *orchards* (*bāghāt*), and most places are on the dead level plain. Under the monsoon-rains, the banks of some of its rivers and torrents

are worn into deep channels, difficult and troublesome to pass through anywhere. In many parts of the plains, *thorny jungle* grows behind the good defence of which the people of the *parganā* become stubbornly rebellious and pay no taxes.

Except for the rivers and standing waters, there is little 'running water' (irrigation channels). So much so is this that towns and countries subsist on the water of wells, or on such as is collected in tanks during the rains.

In Hindustān, hamlets and villages (and sometimes towns too) are depopulated and set up in a moment! If the people of a large town, one inhabited even for several years, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains, in a day or a-day-and-a-half. On the other hand, if they fix up their eyes on a place in which to settle, they need not dig water-courses or construct dams because their crops are all rain-grown,[34] and as **the population of Hindustān is unlimited**, it swarms in. They make a tank or dig a well; they need not build houses or set up walls—*khas*-grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) abounds, wood is unlimited, huts are made, and straightway there is a *village* or a town!

Seasons of the Year

Whereas there are four seasons in other countries (I visited), there are only three in Hindustān, viz, four months are summer; four months are the rains; and four months are winter. The beginning of their months is from the welcome of the crescent-moons. Every three years they add a month to the year; if one had been added to the rainy season, the next is added, three year later, to the winter months, the next, in the same way, to the hot months. This is their mode of intercalation. *Chait, Baisākh, Jeṭh* and *Asāṛh* are the hot months, corresponding with the Fish, Ram, Bull and Twins; *Sāwan, Bhādon, Kuār* and *Kātik* are the rainy months, corresponding with Crab, Lion, Virgin and Balance; and *Aghahan, Pūs, Māgh* and *Phālgun* are the cold months, corresponding with the Scorpion, Archer, Capricorn and Aquarius, of the Zodiac.

The people of Hind, having thus divided the year into three seasons of four months each, divide each of those seasons by taking from each, the two months of the force of the heat, rain and cold. Of the hot months the last two, that is, *Jeṭh* and *Asāṛh* are the force of the heat; of the rainy months, the first two, that is, *Sāwan* and *Bhādon* are the force of the rains; of the cold season the middle two, that is, *Pūs*

and *Māgh* are the force of the cold. By this classification, there are six seasons in Hindustān.[35]

Days of the Week

To the days also they have given names: *Sanīchar* is Saturday; *Rabī-wār* is Sunday; *Som-wār* is Monday; *Mangal-wār* is Tuesday; *Budh-wār* is Wednesday; *Brihaspat-wār* is Thursday; and *Shukr-wār* is Friday.

Division of Time

As in our countries what is known by the (Turkī) term *Kīcha-gūndūz* (a day-and night, nycthemeron) is divided into 24 parts, each called an hour (Arabic, *'sā'at'*), and the hour is divided into 60 parts each called a minute (Arabic '*daqīqa*') so that a day-and-night consists of 1440 minutes, so that people of Hind divide the night-and-day into 60 parts, each called a '*gharī*'. They also divide the night into four and day into four, calling each part a '*pahr*' (watch) which in Persian is a '*pās*'. A watch and watchman (*pās-u-pāsbān*) had been heard about (by us) in those countries (Transoxiana), but without these particulars.

Agreeing with the division into *watches*, a body of '*ghariālīs*' (gong-men) is chosen and appointed in all considerable towns of Hindustān. They cast a broad brass (plate-) thing, perhaps as large as a tray (*ṭabaq, 'tawā'*) and about two hands' thick; this they call a *ghariāl* and hang up in a high place. Also they have a vessel perforated at the bottom like an hour-cup and filling in one *gharī* (that is, 24 minutes). The *ghariālīs* put this into water and wait till it fills. For example, they will put the perforated cup into water at day-birth; when it fills the first time, they strike the gong once with their mallets; when a second time, twice, and so on till the end of the *watch*. They announce the end of a watch by several rapid blows of their mallets. After these they pause; then strike once more, if the first day-watch has ended, twice if the second, three times if the third, and four times if the fourth. After the fourth day-watch, when the night-watches begin, these are gone through in the same way.

It used to be the rule to beat the sign of a watch only when the watch ended; so that sleepers chancing to wake in the night and hear the sound of a third or fourth *gharī,* would not know whether it was of the second or third night-watch. I, therefore, ordered that at night or on a cloudy day the sign of a *watch* should be struck after that of the *gharī*, for example, that after striking the third *gharī* of the first

night-watch, the *ghariālīs* were to pause and then strike the sign of the watch, in order to make it known that this third *gharī* was of the first night-watch; and that after striking four *gharīs* of the third night-watch they should pause and then strike the sign of the third watch, in order to make it known that this fourth *gharī* was of the third night-watch. It did very well; anyone happening to wake in the night and hear the gong, would know what *gharī* of what watch of night it was.

Again, they divide the gharī into 60 parts, each part being called a '*pal*';[36] by this each night-and-day will consist of 3500 *pals*.

Measures (Weights)

The people of Hind also have well-arranged measures, for example,

8 *ratīs*	= 1 *māshā*	
4 *māshās*	= 1 *ṭānk*	= 32 *ratīs*
5 *māshās*	= 1 *misqāl*	= 40 *ratīs*
12 *māshās*	= 1 *tolā*	= 96 *ratī*
14 *tolās*	= 1 *ser*[37](?)	

This is everywhere fixed:

40 *ser*	= 1 *mānbān* (*man* or *maund*)
12 *mānbān*	= 1 *mānī*
100 *mānī*	= 1 *mīnāsa*

Pearls and jewels are weighed by the *ṭānk*.

Modes of Reckoning

The people of Hind have also an excellent mode of reckoning:

100,000 they call a *lak* (*lākh*)
100 *laks* a *krūr* (*karor*)
100 *krūr* an *arb* (*arab*)
100 *arbs* 1 *karb* (*kharab*)
100 *karbs* 1 *nīl*
100 *nīls* 1 *padam*
100 *padams* 1 *sāng*
(= 1,00,00,00,00,00,00,00,000 18 digits)

The fixing of such high reckonings as these is proof of the great amount of wealth in Hindustān.

Hindū Inhabitants of Hindustān

Most of the inhabitants of Hindustān are pagans; they call a pagan a Hindū. Most Hindūs believe in the transmigration of souls. **All artisans, wage-earners and officials are Hindus.**[38] In our countries dwellers in the wilds (that is, nomads) get tribal names; here the settled people of cultivated lands and villages get tribal (precisely, *caste*) *names*. Again, every artisan follows the trade that has come down to him from forefather to forefather (so that they are *hereditary artisans*).

Defects of Hindustān

Hindustān is a country of few charms.[39] Its people have no good looks.[40] Of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits, there is none; of genius and capacity none; of manners none.[41] In handicraft and (such) work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality.[42] There are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the *bāzārs*, no baths (*ḥammāms*), no colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks.[43]

In place of candle and torch, they have a great dirty gang they call *lamp-men* (*diwātī*), who in the left hand hold a smallish wooden tripod to one corner of which a thing (=*dīwā, diyā*) like the top of a candlestick is fixed, having a wick in it about as thick as the thumb. In the right hand, they hold a gourd, through a narrow slit made in which, oil is let trickle in a thin thread when the wick needs it. Great people keep a hundred or two of these *lamp-men* (*diwātī*). **This is the Hindustan substitute for lamps and candlesticks!** If their rulers and *begs* (nobles) have work at night needing candles, these dirty lamp-men bring these lamps, go close up and there stand.[44]

Except their large rivers and their standing waters which flow in ravines or hollows, **there are no running waters** (irrigation-channels), not even in their garden and residences (*'imāratlār*). They do not have the pleasure of swift current of clear water flowing through channels into private precincts. **These residences have no charm, air (hawā), regularity or symmetry**.[45]

Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing called *lungūta* (*laṅgoṭā*), a decency-clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendent decency-clout, another clout is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie on a cloth (*dhotī, sārī*), one-half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head.

Advantages of Hindustān

Pleasant things of Hindustān are that it is a *large country* and has masses of *gold and silver*. Its air in the *Rains* is very fine. Sometimes it rains 10, 15 or 20 times a day; torrents pour down all at once and rivers flow where no water had been. While it rains and through the Rains, the air is remarkably fine, not to be surpassed for healthiness and charm. The fault is that the air becomes very soft and damp. A *bow* of those (Transoxianian) countries after going through the rains in Hindustān, may not be drawn even (as its string gets dampened) and it is ruined. Not only the bow, everything is affected, for example armour, book, cloth and utensils. Even a house does not last long. Not only in the rains but also in the cold and hot seasons, the **airs are excellent**. At these times, however, the north-west wind constantly gets up laden with dust and earth. It gets up in great strength every year in the heats, under the Bull and Twins when the Rains are near and it is so strong and carrying so much dust and earth that there is no seeing one another. People call this wind *Darkener of the Sky* (*H. Āndhī*). The weather is hot under the Bull and Twins, but not intolerable and so hot as in Balkh and Qandahār, and not for half so long.

Another good thing in Hindustān is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind. There is a fixed caste (*jām'ī*) for every sort of work and for everything, which has done that work or that thing from father to son till now. Mulla Sharaf, writing in the *Zafar-Nāmah* about the buildings of Tīmūr Beg's Stone Mosque (at Samarqand), lays stress on the fact that on it 200 stone-cutters worked from Āzarbaijān, Fārs, Hindustān and other countries. But **680 men worked daily on my buildings in Agra and of Agra stone-cutters only; while 1491 stone-cutters worked daily on my buildings in Agrā, Sīkrī, Biānā, Dholpur, Gwālior and Kuil** (Koil, Aligarh). In the same way there are numberless artisans and workmen of every sort in Hindustān.

Revenues of Hindustān

The revenue of the countries now held by me (935/1528) from Bhīra to Bihār is 52 *krurs* (*karors*) as will be known in detail from the following summary. Eight or nine *krurs* of this are (as tribute) from *parganās* of *rais* and *rājās* who, as obedient from of old, receive allowance and maintenance.

REVENUES OF HINDUSTĀN

(from what has so far come under the victorious standards)

Sl. No.	*Sarkārs*	*Krūrs*	*Lāks*	*Taṅkās*
1.	Trans-Sutluj (Bhīra, Lāhore, Siālkot, Dīpālpur etc.)	3	33	15,989
2.	Sirhind (Punjāb)	1	29	31,985
3.	Hiṣār-Firūzā (Punjāb)	1	30	75,174
4.	The Capital Dihlī and *Miān-i-dū-āb* (Doāb)	3	69	50,254
5.	Miwāt (Mewāt)	1	69	81,000
6.	Biānā	1	44	14,930
7.	Āgrā	—	29	76,919
8.	*Miān-i-Wilāyat* (Midlands) (UP)	2	91	00.019
9.	Gwalior	2	23	57,450
10.	Kālpī and Sehondā (Seondhā MP)	4	28	55,950
11.	Qanauj (Kannauj)	1	36	63,358
12.	Sambhal	1	38	44,000
13.	Laknūr (Rampur UP) and Baksar (UP)	1	39	82,433
14.	Khairābād (UP)	—	12	65,000
15.	Aūd (Oude, Oudh, Ayodhya) and Bahrāj (Bahrāich)	1	17	01,369
16.	Jūnpur (Jaunpur)	4	00	88,333
17.	Karra (Kaḍā) and Mānikpur	1	63	27,282
18.	Bihār	4	05	60,000
19.	Sarwār (UP)	1	55	17,506
20.	Sāran (Bihār)	1	10	18,733
21.	Chamapāran (Bihār)	1	90	86,060
22.	Kaṇḍlā (Kuṇḍlā, UP)	0	43	30,300
23.	Tirhut: from Rājā Rūpnārāin's Tribute:			
	Silver	—	2	55,000
	Copper	—	27	50,000
24.	Ranthambhor from Būlī Chātsū and Malarna	—	20	00,000

(*Continued on next page*)

(Contd.)

Sl. No.	*Sarkārs*	*Krūrs Lāks Taṅkās*
25.	Nāgaur	(not given)
26.	Rājā Bikramājīt in Ranthambhor	(not given)
27.	Kālanjar	(not given)
28.	Rājā Bīr-sing-deo-(Sāng)	(not given)
29.	Rājā Bhīkamdeo	(not given)
30.	Rājā Bhīkhamchand[46]	(not given)

So far as particulars and details about the **land and people of the country of Hindustān** have become definitely known, they have been narrated and described. Whatever matters worthy of record may come to view hereafter, I shall write down.

Of Chār-Bāgh, "Ḥammām and Bāolī

One of the great defects of Hindustān being its lack of running-waters,[47] it kept coming to my mind that water should be made to flow by means of *wheels* (*rehaṇṭ*) erected, wherever I might settle down, and grounds should also be laid out **in an orderly and symmetrical way.** With this object in view, we crossed the Jūn-water (river Jamunā), to look at garden-grounds a few days after entering Āgrā. Those grounds were so bad and unattractive[48] that we traversed them with a hundred disgusts and repulsions. So ugly and displeasing were they, that the idea of making a *chār-bāgh* (four-quartered garden) in them passed from my mind, but needs must! As there was no other land near Agra, that same ground was selected for this purpose, a few days later.

The beginning was made with the large well from which water comes for the *bath* (*ḥammām*),[49] and also with the piece of ground where the tamarind trees and the octagonal tank now are. After that came the large tank with its enclosure; after that the tank and *tālār* (*dālān*) in front of the outer residence;[50] after that the private-house (*khilwat-khānah*) with its garden and various dwellings; and after that the bath. **Then in that charmless and disorderly Hind**, plots of garden (*bāghchā*) were seen laid out with order and symmetry, with suitable *borders and parterres* in every corner, and in every border rose and narcissus in perfect arrangement.

Three things oppressed us in Hindustān, its heat, its violent winds, and its dust. Against all three, the *bath* (*ḥammām*) is a protection, for

in it, what is known of dust and wind (?) and **in the heats (summer) it is so chilly that one is almost cold.**[51] The bathroom in which the heated tank is, is altogether of stone, the whole, including pavement and roofing, was of red Biānā stone, except for the **īzāra** *(dado)* which was of white stone.

Khalīfā, Shaikh Zain, Yūnas-i-'Alī and whoever got land on that other (eastern) bank of the river Jamuna (at Agra), laid out regular and orderly *gardens with tanks*, and also made running waters by setting up *wheels* (*rehaṇṭ*) like those in Dīpālpur and Lāhore. The people of Hind **who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically and thus laid out,**[52] called this (eastern) side of the river Jūn (Jamunā) where our residences were, *Kābul*.

In an empty space in the (Āgrā) fort, which was between Ibrāhīm's residence and the ramparts, I ordered a large chambered-well (*wāīn, bāolī*) to be made, measuring 10 by 10 *gaz*, a large well with a flight of steps, which in Hindustān is called a *wāīn* (*bāolī*). This well was begun before the *Chār-bāgh*. They were busy digging it in the true rains (*Sāwan-Bhādon*). It fell in several times and buried the hired workmen. It was finished after the battle (of Khānwā, 17 March 1527) with Rānā Sāngā, as has been inscribed on stone that bears the chronogram of its completion.[53] **It is a complete wāīn (bāolī) having a three-storeyed house in it.** The lowest storey consists of three rooms, each of which opens on the descending steps, at intervals of three steps from one another. When the water is at its lowest, it is one step below the bottom chamber; when it rises in the Rains, it sometimes goes into the top storey. In the middle storey an inner chamber has been excavated which connects with **the dome building in which the bullock turns the well-wheel** (*rehaṇṭ*). The top storey is a single room, reached from two sides by 5 or 6 steps which lead down to it from the enclosure overlooked from the well-head. Facing the right-hand way down, is the stone inscribed with the date of completion. At the side of this well is another, the bottom of which may be at half the depth of the first, and into which water comes from that first one when the bullock turns the *wheel* in the domed building mentioned above. This second well also is fitted with a *wheel*, by means of which water is carried along the ramparts to the *high garden*. A stone building (*tāshdīn 'imārat*) stands at the mouth of the well and there is an outer(?) *mosque* (*tāshmasjid*) outside (*tāshqārī*) the enclosure in which the well is. The mosque is not well done; it is in the **Hindustānī fashion**.[54]

Notes and References

1. Vide *BN*, 480-521 and HCodex, fs.270-93; also see *BN*, Index p. 835, '*Hind*', '*Hindustān*' and '*Hindustānāt*'.
2. *BN*, 340
3. Ibid, 343.
4. Ibid, 378
5. Ibid, 39, 229, 382.
6. Ibid, 378, 478, 480
7. Ibid, 428-29, 430, 441.
8. Ibid, 442, 575.
9. Ibid, 444-45, 479.
10. Ibid, 380.
11. Ibid, 385.
12. Ibid, 229.
13. Ibid, 232 and n.l.
14. Ibid, 234.
15. Ibid, 388; for details of '*Rehaṇ*' see this author's article: ''*Rehaṇ* versus the Persian Wheel''. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, XII.1-4 (1970) 81-84.
16. Ibid, 385.
17. Ibid, 454.
18. i.e. to Khiḍr Khān Sayyid in 1398 AD.
19. He came from the stock of Tānk Rājpūts who had embraced Islam.
20. Precisely, after Tīmūr's invasion of India in 1398 AD.
21. Mālwā Sultanate was also established after the invasion of Tīmūr in 1398 AD by the Ghūrī dynasty which was succeeded by the Khaljīs.
22. Ruled from 1518 to 1532 AD. His dynasty was known as the ''Husain-Shāhī'' after his father.
23. Which is why they made an excellent official class, later denominated as '*Bābū*'.
24. In fact, this happened during the whole Sultanate period, which is why dynastic changes occurred so quickly. No set principle of succession could be established and 'might' was almost always the right.
25. The principle known as ''*Worship of the Rising Sun*'' was generally followed and was not exclusive to the Bengālīs.
26. This date confirms Shaikh Zain's statement that Babur wrote the description of Hindustān in AH 935/1529 AD.
27. This is just a formal statement which should not be taken literally. All this means that Chanderī was captured and held politically.
28. Here 'Islam' has been used synonymously with Muslim rule in India.

29. So Babur was always curious to know the things and was conducting a *research*, in the modern sense of the term.
30. For full details, see *BN*, Appendix—M: 'On the Term Baḥrī Qūtās, pp.xlv-xlvii.
31. Babur has thus graphically described *Rehaṇṭ* apparatus.
32. This is his description of the '*Pur*' system.
33. This is a devastating, though a realistic remark from such a widely-travelled and keen observer of things as Babur.
34. *Lalmī* which in *Pushtū* denotes something that is grown without irrigation.
35. Viz. *Grīṣma*, *Varṣā*, *Hemanta*, *Śiśira*, *Śarad* and *Basanta*.
36. Thus: 60 *vipals* = 1 *pal*

    60 *pals* = 1 *gharī* (24 minutes)

    60 *gharī*

    or 8 *pahr* = one *din-rāt* (nycthemeron)
37. *Ser* was of various values but never of 14 *tolās* which figure is not correct. One *ratī* is equal to 8 rice-grains (or 8 barley-corns). *Māshā* was a kidney bean. ''*Ṭank* was about 2 oz. *Misqāl* was equal to 40 *ratīs*, and *tolā* 145 oz.
38. This observation of Babur made in c.1529 is very significant.
39. Is this his personal and prejudiced complaint, or a balanced, realistic observation?
40. i.e. they are not handsome, as were the people of the western countries he had come from?
41. i.e. they lack in courtesy. Babur's this comment on the state of Indian civilization needs a critical evaluation.
42. This is not correct and, obviously, Babur is out to disparage Indian things owing to anger or bias at this moment.
43. Obviously, he made this comment from his own point of view and more in respect of the '**Afghān Hindustān** than '**Hindū-India**', which latter, he did not have occasion to study closely.
44. It was Akbar who ultimately organized a clean and healthy *'lighting system*' in palatial apartments, cf. R. Nath, *Private Life of the Mughals of India* (1526-1803) (Jaipur 1994) pp.116-18.
45. Did he see commoners' houses only?
46. It is noteworthy that it covers the regions which he denotes as **Hindustānāt** comprised of the Punjāb, North and eastern Rājasthān, UP, Northern MP and Bihār. Surprisingly, it does not mention regions west of Bhīra and does not include Kābul. For a few other details, see *BN*, Appendix—P: 'Remarks on Babur's Revenue List', pp. liv-lvii. Also see Appendix—T: 'On Lakhnau and Lakhnūr' (now Shāhābād in Rampur) for Laknūr of this list.

47. Here *'āqār-sūlār* will stand for the waters which flow in channels to nourish plants and charm the eye.
48. Owing, obviously, to the absence of a hillside and rivulets, of which he was accustomed.
49. For details of *'ḥammām'* reference may be made to R. Nath, "Mughal "*Ḥammām* and the Institution of *Ghuṣl-Khānah*", *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, XLIV.2 (April 1970) 101-110.
50. *Tāsh-'imārat* (external house) in contrast with the inner *Khilwat-khānah* (women's quarters). *Tāshdīn'-imārat* is house of stone which is *'imārat-i-saṅgīn* in Persian.
51. This shows that it was not always a Hot-Bath as Beveridge has translated, and the system was also used for cooling the interiors.
52. Obviously, on the *chār-bāgh* plan with such water accessories as water-channels, cascades and tanks, which have survived in his garden *Bāgh-i-Gul Afshān*, now known as Rām-Bāgh.
53. This inscription is no longer traceable. Probably it was destroyed during Afghān occupation of the Āgrā Fort from 1540 to 1555.
54. Babur's *bāolī* is traceable in the basement area in the *Phānsīghar* complex, beneath the Shāhjahānī-Maḥal. For details see *HMA*-II, pp.127, 142.

4

FAUNA OF HINDUSTĀN[1]

Mammals

The **elephant**, which Hindustānīs call *hāthī* (Skt. *Gaja*), is one of the wild animals peculiar to Hindustān. It inhabits the borders of the Kālpī country, and becomes more numerous in its wild state the further east one goes. Captured elephants are brought from this tract; in Karrāh (Kadā) and Mānikpur elephant-catching is the work of 30 or 40 villages.[2] People answer (*jawāb bīrūrlār*) (pay imposts) for them direct to the exchequer (*dīwān*). The elephant is an immense animal and very sagacious. If people speak to it, it understands; if they command anything from it, it does it. Its value is according to its size; it is sold by measure (*qārīlāb*); the larger it is, the higher its price. People rumour that it is heard of in some islands as 10 *qārī* high, but in this tract it is not seen above 4 or 5. It eats and drinks entirely with its trunk; if it loses the trunk, it cannot live. It has has two great teeth **(tusks)** in its upper jaw, one on each side of its trunk; by setting these against walls and trees, it brings them down. With these it fights and does whatever hard tasks are given to it. People call these ivory (*'āj*; v. *ghāj*). They are highly valued by Hindustānīs. The Elephant has no hair.[3] It is much relied on by Hindustānīs, accompanying every troop of their armies. It has some useful qualities, for example, it crosses great rivers with ease, carrying a mass of baggage, and three or four have gone dragging without trouble the cart of the mortar (*qazān*) which takes four or five hundred men to haul.[4] But its stomach is large; one elephant eats the corn (*būghūz*) of two strings (*qiṭār*) of camels.[5]

The **rhinoceros** (*gaindą*) is another. This is also a large animal, equal in bulk to perhaps three buffaloes. The opinion current in those countries (Tramontana) that it can lift an elephant on its horn, seems mistaken. It has a single horn on its nose, more than nine inches *(qārīsh)* long; one or the two *qārīsh* is not seen.[6] Out of one large horn were made a drinking-vessel[7] and a dice-box, leaving over the thickness of 3 or 4 hands.[8] The rhinoceros' hide is very thick; an arrow shot from a stiff bow, drawn with full strengh right up to the arm-pit, if it pierce at all, might penetrate 4 inches (*aīlīk*, hands). From the sides (*qāsh*) of its fore and hind legs,[9] folds hang which from a distance look like housings thrown over it. It resembles the horse more than it does

rhinoceros; as in the horse a piece of bone (pastern?) grows in place of small bones (T.*āshūq*, Fr.*osselets*) (Zenker, knuckles), so one grows in the rhinoceros; as in the horse's hand (*aīlīk*, Per.*dast*) there is *kūmūk* (or *gūmūk*, a *tibia*, or marrow), so there is in the rhinoceros. It is more ferocious than the elephant and cannot be made obedient and submissive. There are masses of it in the Paṛashāwar and Hashnagar jungles, so too between the Sind-river and the jungles of the Bhīra country. Masses there are also on the banks of the Sārū (Sarayū)-river in Hindustān. Some were killed in the Parashāwar and Hashnagar jungles in our moves on Hindustān. It strikes powerfully with its horn; men and horses enough have been horned in those hunts. In one of them the horse of a *chuhra* (brave) named Maqṣūd was tossed a spear's length, for which reason the man was nick-named the rhino's-aim (*maqṣūd-i-karg*).

The **wild-buffalo**[11] (*bhainsa*) is another. It is much larger than the domestic buffalo and its horns do not turn back in the same way.[12] It is a mightily destructive and ferocious animal.

The **nīla-gāū** (blue-bull)[13] is another. It may stand as high as a horse but is somewhat lighter in build. The male is bluish-grey, hence, seemingly, people call it *nīla-gāū*. It has two rather small horns. On its throat is a tuft of hair, nine inches long; (in this) it resembles the *yāk*.[14] Its hoof is cleft (*aīrī*) like the hoof of cattle. The doe (female) is of the colour of the *būghū-marāl*; [15] she, for her part, has no horns and is plumper than the male.

The **hog-deer** (H.*chikārā*, *kotah-pāīcha*) is another.[16] It may be of the size of the white deer (*āq kiyīk*). It has short legs, hence its name, little-legged. Its horns are like a *būghū's* but smaller; like the *būghū* it casts them every year. Being rather a poor runner, it does not leave the jungle.

Another is **deer** (*kiyīk*) after the fashion of the male deer (*aīrkākī hūna*) of the *jīrān*.[17] Its back is black, its belley white, its horns longer than the *hūna's*, but more crooked. A Hindustānī calls it *kalahara*,[18] a word which may have been originally *kālā-haran* (*hiran*) (black buck) and which has been softened in pronunciation to *kalahara*. The doe (female) is light-coloured. By means of this *kalahara* people catch deer; they fasten a noose (*ḥalqa*) on its horns, hang a stone as large as a ball[19] on one of its feet, so as to keep it from getting far away after it has brought about the capture of a deer, and set it opposite wild deer when these are seen. As these (*kalahara*) deer are singularly combative, advance to fight is made at once. The two deer strike with their horns and push one another backwards and forwards, during

which the wild one's horns become entagled in the net that is fast to the tame one's. If the wild one would run away, the tame one does not go; it is impeded also by the stone on its foot. People take many deer in this way; after capture they tame them and use them in their turn to take others;[20] they also set them to fight at home. The deer fight very well.

There is a smaller deer (*kiyīk*) on the Hindustān hill-skirts, as large may be as the one year's lamb of the *arqārghalcha* (*Ovis poli*).

The **gīnī-cow** [21] is another, a very small one, perhaps as large as the *qūchqār* (ram) of those countries (Tramontana). Its flesh is very tender and savoury.

The **monkey** (**maimūn**) is another. A Hindustānī calls it *bandar* (बन्दर). Of this too, there are many kinds, one being what people take to those countries. The jugglers (*luīi; bāzīgar*) teach them tricks. This kind is in the mountains of Nūr-Darā, in the skirt-hills of Safīd-koh neighbouring on Khaibar, and from there downwards all through Hindustān. It is not found higher up. Its hair is yellow, its face is white, its tail not very long. Another kind, not found in Bājaur, Sawād and those parts, is much larger than the one taken to those countries (Tramontana). Its tail is very long, its hair whitish, its face quite black. It is in the mountains and jungles of Hindustān.[22] Yet another kind is distinguished (*būlā dūr*), quite black in hair, face and limbs.[23]

The **nawal** (*nūl*; *newalā*)[24] is another. It may be somewhat smaller than the *kīsh*. It climbs trees. Some call it the *mūsh-i-khūrmā* (palm-rat). It is considered to be a lucky animal.

A **mouse** (T. *sichqan*) people call *galahrī* (squirrel) is another. It is just always in trees, running up and down with amazing alertness and speed.

Birds

The **peacock** (Ar. *ṭāūs*, H. *mor*) is one. It is a beautifully coloured and splendid animal. Its form (*andām*) is not equal to its colouring and beauty. Its body may be as large as the crane's (*tūrna*), but it is not so tall. On the head of both cock and hen are 20 to 30 feathers rising some 2 or 3 inches high. The hen has neither colour nor beauty. The head of cock has an iridescent collar (*ṭauq sūsanī*); its neck is of a beautiful blue. Below the neck, its back is painted in yellow, parrot green, blue and violet colours. The flowers[25] on its back are much the smaller; below the back as far as the tail-tips are larger flowers painted in the same colours. The tails of some peacocks grow to the length of a man's

extended arms.[26] It has a small tail under its flowered feathers, like the tail of other birds; this is ordinary tail and its primaries[27] are red. It is in Bājaur and Sawād and below them; it is not in Kūnūr and the Lamghānāt or any place above them. Its flight is feebler than the pheasant's (*qīrghāwal*); it cannot do more than make one or two short flights.[28] On account of its feeble flight,it frequents the hills or jungles, which is curious, since jackals abound in the jungles it frequents. What damage might these jackals not do to birds that trail from jungle to jungle, tails as long as a man's stretch (*qūlāch*)! Hindustānīs call the peacock *mor*. Its flesh is lawful food, according to the doctrine of Imām Abū Ḥanīfā; it is like that of the partridge and not unsavoury, but is eaten with instinctive aversion, in the way camel-flesh is.

The **parrot** (H. *ṭūṭī*, *totā*) is another. This also is in Bājaur and countries lower down. It comes into Ningnahār and the Lamghānāt in the heats when mulberries ripen; it is not there at other times. It is of many many kinds. One sort is that which people carry into those (Tramontane) countries. They make it **speak words**.[29] Another sort is smaller; this also they make speak words. They call it the jungle-parrot. It is numerous in Bājaur, Sawād and that neighbourhood, so much so that 5000 or 6000 fly in one block (*khail*). Between it and the one first-named the difference is in bulk; in colouring they are just one and the same. Another sort is still smaller than the jungle-parrot. Its head is quite red, the top of its wings (that is, the primaries) is red also; the tip of its tail for two hands' thickness is lustrous.[30] The head of some parrots of this kind is iridescent (*sūsanī*). It does not become a talker. People call it the Kashmīr parrot. Another sort is rather smaller than the jungle-parrot; its beak is black; round its neck is a wide black collar; its primaries are red. It is an excellent learner of words. We used to think that whatever a parrot or a sharak (*mīnā*; *mainā*) might say of words people had taught it,it could not speak of any matter out of its own head. At this juncture one of my immediate servants Abū'l Qāsim *Jalāīr* reported a singular thing to me. A parrot of this sort whose cage must have been covered up, said, ''Uncover my face; I am stifling''. And another time when *pālkī* (palanquin)—bearers sat down to take breath, this parrot, presumably, on hearing wayfarers pass by, said, ''Men are going past. Are you not going on?'' Let the credit rest with the narrator, but nevertheless, so long as a person has not heard with his own ears, he may not believe. Another kind is of a beautiful full red; it has other colours also, but, as nothing is distinctly remembered about them, no description is made. It is a very beautiful bird, both in colour and form. People are understood to make this also

speak words.[31] Its defect is a most unpleasant sharp voice, like the drawing of broken china on a copper plate.[32]

The **sharak**[33] (P.) (*H. sarika*) is another. It is numerous in the Lamghānāt and abounds lower down, all over Hindustān. Like the parrot, it is of many kinds. The kind that is numerous in the Lamghānāt has a black head; its primaries (*qānāt*) are spotted, its body rather larger and thicker,[34] than that of the (T) *chūghūrchūq*.[35] People teach it to speak words. Another kind they call *pindāwalī*.[36] They bring it from Bengal. It is black all over and of much greater bulk than the *shārak* (here, house-*mīnā*). Its bill and foot are yellow and on each ear are yellow wattles which hang down and have a bad appearance.[37] It learns to speak well and clearly. Another kind of *shārak* is slenderer than the last and is red round the eyes. It does not learn to speak. People call it the wood-*shārak*.[38] Again, at the time when (934 AH) I had made a bridge over Gang (Ganges), crossed it, and put my adversaries to flight, a kind of *shārak* was seen, in the neighbourhood of Laknaū and Aūd (Oude, Ayodhya), for the first time, which had a white breast, piebald head, and black back. This kind does not learn to speak.[39]

The **lūja** (H. *lūkha*, *lūcha*) is another. This bird they call (Ar) *bū-qalamūn* (**chameleon**) because, between head and tail, it has five or six changing colours, resplendent (*barrāq*) like a pigeon's throat. It is about as large as the *kabg-i-darī*[40] and seems to be the *kabg-i-darī* of Hindustān. As the *kabg-i-dari* moves (*yūrūr*) on the heads (*kulah*) of mountains, so does this. It is in the Nijr-aū mountains of the countries of Kabul and in the mountains lower down but it is not found higher up. People tell this wonderful thing about it: when the birds, at the onset of winter, descend to the hill-skirts, if they come over a vineyard, they can fly no further and are taken. God knows the truth! The flesh of this bird is very savoury.

The **partridge** (*H. teetar*, *durrāj*)[41] is another. This is not peculiar to Hindustān but is also in the *Garm-sīr* countries[42]; however some kinds are only in Hindustān, particulars of them are given here. The *durrāj* (*Francolinus vulgaris*) may be of the same bulk as the *kīklīk*[43]; the cock's back is the colour of the hen-pheasant (*qīrghāwal-ning māda-sī*); its throat and breast are black, with quite white spots.[44] A red line comes down on both sides of both eyes.[45] It is named from its cry[46] which is something like '*Sher-dāram-shakrak*'.[47] It pronounces *shir* short; '*dāram shakrak*' it says distinctly. Astarābād partridges are said to cry: '*Bāt-mīnī-tutīlār*' (Quick! they have caught me). The partridge of Arabia and those parts is understood to cry: '*Bi'l-*

shakar-tadawm-al-ni'am' (with sugar pleasure endures)! The hen-bird has the colour of the young pheasant. These birds are found below Nijr-aū. Another kind is called *kanjāl*. Its bulk may be that of the one already described. Its voice is very like that of the *kīklīk* but much shriller. There is little difference in colour between the cock and hen. It is found in Parashāwar, Hashnagar and countries lower down, but not higher up.

The **phūl-paikār**[48] is another. Its size may be that of the *kabg-i-darī*; its shape is that of the house-cock, its colour that of the hen. From forehead (*tūmāgh*) to throat, it is of a beautiful colour, quite red. It is in the Hindustan mountains.

The **wild-fowl** (H. murgh, *ṣaḥrāī-tāūgh*)[49] is another. It flies like a pheasant, and is not of all colours as house-fowl are. It is in the mountains of Bājaur and lower down, but not higher up.

The **chīlsī** (or *jīlsī*)[50] is another. In bulk it equals the *phūl-paikār* but the latter has the finer colouring. It is in the mountains of Bājaur.

The **shām**[51] is another. It is about as large as a house-fowl; its colour is unique (*ghair mukarrar*).[52] It also is in the mountains of Bājaur.

The **quail** (H. *bater*, P. *būdana*) is another. It is not peculiar to Hindustān but four or five kinds are so. One is that which goes to our countries (Tramontana), larger and more spreading than the Hindustānī quail.[53] Another kind[54] is smaller than the one first named. Its primaries and tail are reddish. It flies in flocks like the *chir* (*Phasianus Wallichii*). Another kind is smaller than that which goes to our countries and is darker on throat and breast.[55] Another kind goes in small numbers to Kābul; it is very small, perhaps a little larger than the yellow wag-tail (*qārcha*).[56] They call it *qūrātū* in Kābul.

The **Indian bustard** (P. *kharchāl*)[57] is another. It is about as large as the (T) *tūghdāq* (*Otis tarda*, the great bustard) and seems to be the *tūghdāq* of Hindustān.[58] Its flesh is delicious; of some birds the leg is good, of others, the wing; of the bustard all the meat is delicious and excellent.

The **florican** (P. *charz*)[59] is another. It is rather less than the *tūghdīrī* (*houbara*)[60]; the cock's back is like the tūghdīrī's and its breast is black. The hen is of one colour.

The Hindustān **sand-grouse** (T. *bāghrī-qarā*)[61] is another. It is smaller and slenderer than the *bāghrī-qarā* (*Pterocles arenarius*) of those countries (Tramontana). Also its cry is sharper.

Of the birds that frequent water and the banks of rivers, one is the **dīng**,[62] an animal of great bulk, each wing measuring a *qūlāch* (fathom). It has no plumage (*tūqī*) on head or neck; a thing like a bag hangs from tis neck; its back is black. Its breast is white. It goes sometimes to Kābul; one year people brought one they had caught. It became very tame; if meat were thrown to it, it never failed to catch it in its bill. Once it swallowed a six-nailed shoe, another time a whole fowl, wings and feathers, all right down.

The **sāras** (*Grus antigone*) is another. Turks in Hindustān call it *tīwa-tūrnā* (**Camel-Crane**). It may be smaller than the *dīng* but its neck is rather longer. Its head is quite red.[63] People keep this bird at their houses; it becomes very tame.

The **mānek**[64] is another. In stature it approaches the *sāras*, but its bulk is less. It resembles the *lag-lag* (*Ciconia alba*, the white stork) but is much larger; its bill is larger and is black. Its head is iridescent, its neck white, its wings partly-coloured; the tips and border-feathers and under parts of the wings are white, their middle black.

Another **stork** (*lag-lag*) has a white neck and all other parts black. It goes to those countries (Tramontana). It is rather smaller than the *lag-lag* (*Ciconia alba*). A Hindustānī calls it *yak-rang* (of one colour only).

Another stork in colour and shape is exactly like the storks that go to those countries. Its bill is blacker and its bulk much less than the *lag-lag's* (*Ciconia alba*).[65]

Another bird resembles the grey heron (*aūqār*) and the *lag-lag*; but its bill is longer than the heron's and its body smaller than the white stork's (*lag-lag*).

Another is the *large* **buzak**[66] (**black ibis**). In bulk it may equal the buzzard (T. *sār*). The back of its wings is white. It has a loud cry.

The **white buzak**[67] is another. Its head and bill are black. It is much larger than the one that goes to those countries,[68] but smaller than the Hindustān *buzak*.[69]

The **gharm-pāī**[70] (spotted-bills **duck**) is another. It is larger than the *sūna būrchīn* [71] (mallard). The drake and duck are of one colour. It is in Hashnagar at all seasons, sometimes it goes into the Lamghānāt. Its flesh is very savoury.

The **shāh-murgh** (*Sarcidiornis* melq *melanonotus*, **comb duck** or *nukta*) is another. It may be a little smaller than a goose. It has a swelling on its bill; its back is black. Its flesh is excellent eating.

The **zummaj** is another. It is about as large as the *būrgūt* (*Aquila chrysaetus*, the golden eagle).

The (T) **ālā-qārgha** of Hindustān is another (*Corvus cornix*, the **pied crow**). This is slenderer and smaller than the *ālā-qārgha* of those countries (Tramontana). Its neck is partly white.

Another Hindustān bird resembles the **crow** (T. *qārcha*. C. *splendens*) and the *magpie* (Ar. *'aqqa*). In the Lamghānāt people call it the *jungle-bird* (P. *murgh-i-jangal*).[72] Its head and breast are black; its wings and tail reddish; its eye quite red. Having a feeble flight, it does not come out of the jungle, whence its name.

The **great bat** (P. *shapara*)[73] is another. People call it (H) *chumgādur*. It is about as large as the owl (T. *Yāpālāq, Otus brachyotus*), and has a head like a puppy's. When it is thinking of lodging for the night on a tree, it takes hold of a branch, turns head-downwards, and so remains. It has much singularity.

The **magpie** (Ar. *'aqqa*) is another. People call it *matā* (*Dendrocitta rufta,* the Indian tree-pie). It may be somewhat less than the *'aqqa* (*Pica rustica*), which moreover is pied black and white, while the *matā* is pied brown and black.[74]

Another is a small bird, perhaps of the size of the (T) *sāndūlāch*.[75] It is of a beautiful red with a little black on its wings.

The **karcha**[76] is another; it is after the fashion of a swallow (T. *qārlūghāch*), but much larger and quite black.

The **kūīl**[77] (*Eudynamys orientalis*, the *koel*) is another. It may be as large as the crow (P. *zāg*) but is much slenderer. It has a kind of song and is understood to be the *bulbul* of Hindustān. Its honour with Hindustānīs is as great as is the *bulbul's*. It always stays in closely-wooded gardens.

Another bird is after the fashion of the (Ar) *shiqarrāk* (*Cissa chinensis,* the *green-magpie*). It clings to trees, is perhaps as large as the green-magpie, and is parrot-green (*Gecinus striolatus*, the little green-woodpecker).[78]

Aquatic Animals

One is the **water-tiger** (H. *magar*, P. *shīr-ābī, Crocodilus palustris*).[79] This is in the standing waters. It is like a lizard(T. *gīlās*).[80] People say it caries off men and even buffaloes.

The (P) **siyāh-sār** (black-head) is another. This also is like a lizard. It is in all rivers of Hindustān. One that was taken and brought in was about 4-5 *qārī* (about 13 feet) long and as thick perhaps as a

sheep. It is said to grow still larger. Its snout is over half a yard long. It has rows of small teeth in its upper and lower jaws. It comes out of the water and sinks into the mud (*bātā*).

The (H) **ghariāl** (*Gavialus gangeticus*) is another.[81] It is said to grow large; many in the army saw it in the Sārū (Sarayū; Ghāghrā) river. It is said to take people; while we were on that river's banks (934/935 AH), it took one or two slave-women (*dādūk*), and it took three or four camp followers between Ghāsīpur and Banāras. In that neighbourhood I saw one but from a distance only and not quite clearly.

.The **water-hog** (P. *khūk-ābī, Platanista gangetica*, the **porpoise**) is another. This also is in all Hindustān rivers. It comes up suddenly out of the water; its head appears and disappears; it dives again and stays below, shewing its tail. Its snout is as long as the *siyāh-sār's* and it has the same rows of small teeth. Its head and the rest of its body are fish-like. When at play in the water, it looks like a water-carrier's bag (*mashak*). Water-hogs, playing in the Sārū (Sarayū), leap right out of the water; like fish, they never leave it.

Again there is the **kalah** (or *galah*) — fish (*bāligh*). Two bones each about 3 inches (*aīlīk*) long, come out in a line with its ears; these it shakes when taken, producing an extraordinary noise, whence, seeingly, people have called it *kalah* (or *galah*).

The flesh of Hindustān fishes is very savoury; they have no odour (*aīd*) or tiresomeness.[82] They are surprisingly active. On one occasion when people coming, had flung a net across a stream, leaving its two edges half a yard above the water, most fish passed by leaping a yard above it. In many rivers are little fish which fling themselves a yard or more out of water if thereby harsh noise or sound of feet.

The **frogs** of Hindustān, though otherwise like those other (Tramontana), run 6 or 7 yards on the face of the water.

Notes and References

1. Vide *BN*, 488-503 & *HCodex*, fs, 274b-282b.
2. Beveridge quotes from Erskine: ''The improvement of Hindustān since Babur's time must be prodigious. The wild elephant is now confined to the forests under the Himālayas, and to the Ghāts of Malābār. A wild elephant near Karrāh, Manikpur or Kālpī is a thing, at the present day (i,e, in 1826 AD) totally unknown. May not their familier existence in these countires down to Babur's days be considered rather hostile to the accounts given of the superabundant population of Hindustān in remote times?''

3. I.e. pelt; as Erskine notes, its skin is scattered with small hairs. Details such as this one stir the question, **for whom was Bābur writing**? Not for Hindustān where what he writes is patent; hardly for Kābul; perhaps for Transoxania; Or, finally, for his own pleasure.
4. Shaikh Zain's wording shows this reference to be to a special piece of artillery, perhaps that of f.302.
5. A string of camels contains from five to seven, or,in poetry, even more. The item of food compared is corn only (būghūz) and takes no account therefore of the elephant's green food.
6. The *Ency.Br.* states that the horn seldom exceeds a foot in length; there is one in the B. M. measuring 18 inches.
7. *Āb. khwura kishtī,* water-drinker's boat, in which name *kishtī* may be used with referene to shape as boat is in *sauce-boat.* Erskine notes that rhinoceros-horn is supposed to sweat on approach of poison.
8. *Aīlīk*, Pers. trs. *angusht*, finger, each seemingly representing about one inch, a hand's thickness, a finger's breadth.
9. Lit. hand (qūl) and leg (*būl*).
10. The anatomical details by which Bābur supports this statement are difficult to translate, but his grouping of the two animals is in agreement with the modern classification of them as two of the three *Ungulata vera*, the third being the tapir (*Fauna of British India*:- Mammals, Blanford 467 and, illustration, 468).
11. *Bos bubalus.*
12. "So as to grow into the flesh" (Erskin, p. 317).
13. *sic* in text. It may be noted that the name *nīl-gāī*, common in general European writings, is that of the cow; *nī-gāū*, that of the bull (Blanford).
14. *Baḥrī-qūṭās* for full details of which see *BN*, pp.xlv-xlvii, Appendix—M: 'On the Term *Baḥrī Qūṭās*'.
15. The doe is brown (Blanford, p. 518). The word *būghū* (stag) is used alone just below and seems likely to represent the bull of the Asiatic wapiti.
16. *Axis porcinus* (Jerdon, *Cervus porcinus*).
17. *Saiga tartarica* (Shaw). Turki *hūna* is used, like English deer for male, female, and both. Here it seems defined by aīrkākī to mean stag or buck.
18. *Antelope cervicapra*, black-buck, so called from the dark hue of its back.
19. *Tuyūq*, underlined in the Elph. MS. by *kura*, cannon-ball; Erskine, foot-ball, de Courteille, *pierre plus grosse que la cheville (tūyāq).*
20. This mode of catching antelopes is described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, and is noted by Erskine as common in his day.
21. H.*gainā*. It is 3 feet high. The ram with which it is compared may be that of *Ovis ammon* (Vigne's Kashmir etc. ii, 278).
22. Here the Pers. trs. adds:- They call this kind of monkey *langūr* (baboon, I.O. 217 f. 192.)

23. Here the Pers. trs. adds what Erskine mistakenly atributes to Bābur:- People bring it from several islands. —They bring yet another kind from several islands, yellowish-grey in colour like a *pūstīn tīn* (leather coat of?; Erskine, skin of the fig, tīn). Its head is broader and its body much larger than those of other monkeys. It is very fierce and destructive. It is singular *quod penis ejus semper sit erectus, et nunquam non ad coitum idoneus* [Erskine].

24. This name is explained on the margin of the Elph. MS. as ''*rāsū*, which is the weasel of Tartary'' (Erskine). *Rāsū* is an Indian name for the squirrel *Sciurus indicus*. The *kīsh*, with which Bābur's *nūl* is compared, is explained by de C. as *belette*, weasel, and by Steingass as a fur-bearing animal; the fur-bearing weasel is (*Mustelidae*) *putorius ermina*, the ermine-weasel (Blanford, p. 165), which thus seems to be Bābur's *kīsh*. The alternative name Bābur gives for his *nūl*, i.e. *mūsh-i-khūrma*, is, in India, that of *Sciurus palmarum*, the palm-squirrel (G. of I.i, 227); this then, it seems that Bābur's nūl is. (Erskine took nūl here to be the mongoose (*Herpestes mūngūs*) (p. 318); and Blanford, perhaps partly on Erskine's warrant, gives *mūsh-i-khūrma* as a name of the lesser *mungūs* of Bengal. The name *nawal* is not exclusively confined even now to the *mungūs*,)

25. Persian, *gul*; English, eyes.

26. *Qūlāch* (Zenker, p. 720); Pers. trs. (217 f. 192b) *yak qad-i-adm*; de Courteille, *brasse* (fathom). These three are expressions of the measure from finger-tip to finger-tip of a man's extended arms, which should be his height, a fathom (6 feet).

27. *Qānāt*, of which here ''primaries'' appears to be the correct rendering, since Jerdon says (ii, 506) of the bird that its ''wings are striated black and white, primaries and tail deep chestnut''.

28. The *qīrghāwal*, which is of the pheasant species, when pursued, will take several fights immediately after each other, though none long; peacocks, it seems soon get tired and take to running (Erskine).

29. Amīr Khusrau, much before Babur, described some 'Wonderful Birds and Animals of India' in his famous Mathnawī, the *Nuh-Sipihr* (R. Nath's English tr. '*India As Seen by Amir Khusrau*' (Jaipur 1981, pp. 81-93). He notes that ''*Tūṭī*'' ''*talks like human beings and repeats (exactly) whatever it hears*'' *(ibid, p. 81).*

30. Ar. *barrāq*; Elph.Ms. has *barrāq* marked with the *tashdīd*.

31. A Persian note, partially expunged from the text of the Elph.Ms. is to the effect that 4 or 5 other kinds of parrot are heard of which the author did not see.

32. Erskine suggests that this may be the **loory** (*loriculus vernalis*, **Indian loriquet**).

33. The birds Bābur classes under the name *shārak* seem to include what Oates and Blanford class under *Sturnus*, *Eulabes* and *Calornis*, starling,

grackle and mīna, and tree-stare (*Fauna of British India*, Oates, vols. i and ii; Blanford, vols. iii and iv).

Amīr Khusrau also mentioned '*Shārak*' (Skt. *Sārikā*) separately and distinctly (ibid, p. 82) and noted that it could speak more distinctly, correctly and fluently than '*ṭūṭī*'.

34. Turkī, *qabā*; Ilminsky, p. 361, *tang* (*tund*?).

35. E.D. Ross's *Polyglot List of Birds*, p. 314, *Chighīr-chīq*, Northern swallow;. Elph. MS. f. 230*b* interlined *jil* (Steingass lark.). The description of the bird allows it to be *Sturnus humii*, the Himālayan starling (Oates, i, 520).

36. Elph. and 'Hai. MSS.(Sans. and Bengāli) *pindūī*; two good MSS. of the Pers. trs. (I.O. 217 and 218) *pindāwalī*; Ilminsky (p. 361) *mīna*; Erskine (*Mems.* p. 319) *pindāwelī*, but without his customary translation of an Indian name. The three forms shewn above can all mean "having protuberance or lump" (*pinḍā*) and refer to the bird's wattle. But the word of the presumably well-informed scribes of I.O. 217 and 218 can refer to the bird's sagacity in speech and be panḍāwalī, possessed of wisdom. With the same spelling, the word can translate into the epithet *religiosa*, given to the wattled *mīnā* by Linnaeus. This epithet Mr. Leonard Wray informs me has been explained to him as due to the frequenting of temples by the birds; and that in Malāya they are found living in cotes near Chinese temples. An alternative name (one also connecting with *religiosa*) allowed by the form of the word is *bīnḍā-walī*. H. bīnḍā is a mark on the forehead, made as a preparative to devotion by Hindūs, or in Sans. and Bengālī, is the spot of paint made on an elephant's trunk; the meaning would thus be "having a mark". Cf. Jerdon and Oates *s.n. Eulabes religiosa*.

37. *Eulabes intermedia*, the Indian grackle or hill-mīna. Here the Pers.trs. adds that people call it *mīna*.

38. *Calornis chalybeius*, the glossy starling or tree-stare, which never descends to the ground.

39. Sturnopastor contra, the pied mīna.

40. Lit. mountain-partridge. There is ground for understanding that one of the birds known in the region as *monals* is meant.

41. Sans, *chakora*; Ar. *durrāj*; P. *kabg*; T. *kīklīk*.

42. Here, probably, southern Afghānistān.

43. *Caccabis chukūr*.

44. "In some parts of the country (i.e. India before 1841 AD), tippets used to be made of the beautiful black, white-spotted feathers of the lower plumage (of the *durrāj*), and were in much request, but they are rarely procurabe now" (*Bengal Sporting Magazine* for 1841, quoted by Jerdon, ii, 561).

45. A broad collar of red passes round the whole neck (Jerdon, ii, 558).

46. Ar. durrāj means one who repeats what he hears, a tell-tale.
47. Various translations have been made of this passage, "I have milk and sugar" (Esrkine), "*J'ai du lait, un peu de sucre*" (de Courteille), but with short *shir*, it might be read in more than one way ignoring milk and sugar. See Jerdon, ii, 558 and Hobson Jobson *s.n.* Black Partridge.
48. Flower-faced, *Trapogon melanocephala*, the horned (*sing*) - monal. It is described by Jahāngīr (Memoirs, R. and B., ii 220) under the names [H. and P.] *phūl-paikān* and Kashmīrī *sonlū*.
49. *Gallus sonneratii*, the grey jungle-fowl.
50. Perhaps *Bambusicola fytchii*, the western bambu-partridge. For *chīl* see E.D. Ross, *l.c.* No. 127.
51. Jahāngīr (*l.c.*) describes, under the Kashmīrī name *pūṭ*, what may be this bird. It seems to be *Gallus ferrugineus*, the red jungle-fowl (Blanford, iv, 75).
52. Jahāngīr helps to identify the bird by mentioning its elongated tail-feathers,—seasonal only.
53. The migrant quail will be *Coturnix communis*, the grey quail, 8 inches long; what it is compared with seems likely to be the bush-quail, which is non-migrant and shorter.
54. Perhaps *Perdicula argunda*, the rock bush-quail, which flies in small coveys.
55. Perhaps *Coturnix coromandelica*, the black-breasted or rain quail, 7 inches long.
56. Perhaps *Motacilla citreola*, a yellow wag-tail which summers in Central Asia (Oates, ii, 298). If so, its Kābul name may refer to its flashing colour. Cf. E.D. Ross, *l.c.* No. 301: de Courteille's *Dictionary* which gives *qārcha*, wag-tail, and Zenker's which fixes the colour.
57. *Eupodolis edwardsii*; Turkī, *tūghdār* or *tūghdīrī*.
58. Erskine noting (Mems. p. 321), that the bustard is common in the Dakkan where it is bigger than a turkey, says it is called *tūghdār* and suggests that this is a corruption of tūghdāq. The uses of both words are shewn by Bābur, here, and in the next following, account of the *charz*.
59. *Syphcotis bengalensis* and *S. aurita*, which are both smaller than *Otis houbara* (*tūghdīrī*). In Hindustan S. aurita is known as *līkh* which name is the nearest approach I have found to Bābur's [*lūja*] lūkha.
60. Jerdon mentions (ii, 615) that this bird is common in Afghānistān and there called *dugdaor* (*tūghdār*, *tūghdīrī*).
61. The Hindūstān *bāghrī-qarā* is *Pterocles exustus*, the common sand-grouse and that the one of f. 49*b* is *Pterocles arenarius*, the larger or black-bellied sand-grouse. P. *exustus is* said by Yule (H.J. *s.n.* Rock-pigeon) to have been msicalled rock-pigeon by Anglo-Indians, perhaps because its flight resembles the pigeon's. This accounts for Erskine's rendering (p. 321) *bāghrī-qarā* here by rock-pigeon.

62. *Leptoptilus dubius*, Hind. *hargīlā*. Hindūstānīs call it *pīr-i-dīng* (Erskine) and *peda dhauk* (Blanford), both names referring, perhaps, to its pouch. It is the adjutant of Anglo-India.
63. Only when young.
64. Elph. MS. *mankisā* or *mankīā*; Hai. MS. *mink*. Haughton's *Bengali Dictionary* gives two forms of the name *mānek-jur* and *mānak-yoī*. It is *Dissura episcopus*, the white-necked stork (Blanford iv, 370, who gives *manik-jor* amongst its Indian names). Jerdon calsses it (ii, 737) as *Ciconia leucocephala*. It is the beef-steak bird of Anglo-India.
65. *Ciconia nigra*.
66. Under the Hindūstānī form, *būza*, of Persian *buzak* the birds Bābur mentions as *buzak* can be identified. The large one is *Inocotis papillosus*, *būza*, *kāla būza*, black curlew, king-curlew. The bird it equals in size is a buzzard, Turkī *sār* (not Persian *sār*, starling). The king-curlew has a large white patch on the inner lesser and marginal coverts of its wings (Blanford, iv, 363), This agrees with Bābur's statement about the wings of the large *buzak*. Its length is 27 inches, while the starling's is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
67. *Ibis melanocephala*, the white ibis, Pers. *safed buzak*, Bengali *sabut būza*. It is 30 inches long.
68. Perhaps, *Plegadis falcinellus*, the glossy ibis, which in most parts of India is a winter visitor. Its length is 25 inches.
69. Erskine suggests that this is *Platalea leucorodia*, the *chamach-būza*, spoon-bill. It is 33 inches long.
70. *Anas poecilorhyncha*. the 'Hai. MS. writes *gharm-pāī* , and this is the Indian name given by Blanford (iv, 437).
71. *Anas boschas*. Dr. Ross notes (No. 147). from the *Sanglākh*, that *sūna* is the drake, *būrchīn*, the duck and that it is common in China to call a certain variety of bird by the combined sex-names. Sosmething like this is shewn by the uses of *būghā* and *marāl q.v.* Index.
72. *Centropus rufipennis*, the comon coucal (Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Crow-pheasant); H. *makokhā*, *Cuculus castaneus* (Buchanan, quoted by Forbes).
73. *Pteropus edwardsii*, the flying fox. The inclusion of the bat here amongst birds, may be a clerical accident, since on f. 136 a flying-fox is not written of as a bird.
74. Bābur here uses what is both the Kābul and Andijān name for the magpie, Ar. *'aqqa* (Oates, i, 31 and Scully's Voc.) instead of T. *sāghizghān* or P. *dam-sīcha* (tail-wagger).
75. The Pers. trs. writes *sāndūlāch mamūlā*, *mamūlā* being Arabic for wag-tail. De Courteille's Dictionary describes the *sāndūlāch* as small and having a long tail, the cock-bird green, the hen yellow. The wag-tail suiting this in colouring is *Motacilla borealis* (Oates, ii, 294; syn. ***Budytes***

viridis, the green wag-tail); this, as a migrant, serves to compare with the Indian "little bird", which seems likely to be a red-start.

76. This word may represent Scully's *kirich* and be the Turkī name for a swift, perhaps *Cypselus affinis.*

77. This name is taken from its cry during the breeding season (Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Koel).

78. Also see *BN*, xlviii-li, Appendix—N: 'Notes on a Few Birds'.

79. Bābur's distinction between the three crocodiles he mentions seems to be that of names he heard, *shīr-ābī, siyāh-sār*, and *ghaṛīāl.*

80. This is an explanation of two somewhat vague statements of later date, one made by Abū'l-faẓl (A.A.Blochmann, p. 65) that Akbar called the *kīlās* (cherry) the shāh-ālū (king-plum), the other by Jahāngīr that this change was made because *kīlās* means lizard (*Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, R & B. i, 116). What Akbar did is shewn by Bābur; it was to reject the Persian name kīlās, cherry, because it closely resembled *Turkī gīlās*, lizard. There is a lizard *Stellio Lehmanni* of Transoxiana with which Bābur may well have compared the crocodile's appearance (Schuyler's *Turkistān*, i, 383). Akbar in Hindūstān may have had *Varanus salvator* (6 ft. long) in mind, if indeed he had not the great lizard, *al lagarto*, the alligator itself in his thought. The name *kīlās* evidently was banished only from the Court circle, since it is still current in Kashmīr (Blochmann *l.c.* p. 616); and Speede (p. 201) gives keeras, cherry, as used in India.

81. This name as now used is that of the purely fish-eating crocodile. (In the Turki text, Babur's account of the *ghariāl* follows that of the **porpoise**, but it is grouped here with those of the two other crocodiles).

82. Turki, *'qiyūnlīghī,* presumably referring to spines or difficult bones; Turki *'qīn*, however, denotes a scabbard.

5

FRUITS AND FLOWERS OF HINDUSTĀN[1]

The **mango** (P. *anbah*; H. *ām*) is one of the fruits **peculiar to Hindustān**. Hindustānīs pronounce the 'b' in its name as though no vowel followed it (that is, Skt. *ānb*);[2] this being awkward to utter, some people call the fruit (P) *naghzak* as Khwājah Amīr Khusrau does:

Naghzak-i mā (v. khwāsh) naghz-kun-i būstān,
Naghztarīn mewā (v. nā' mat)-i-Hindustān.[3]
(Our fairling (that is, mango) beauty-maker of the garden,
Fairest fruit of Hindustān).

Mangoes when good, are very good, but, many as are eaten, few are first rate. They are usually plucked unripe and ripened in the house. Unripe, they make excellent condiments (*qātīk*), are good also preserved in syrup.[4] Taking it altogether, the **mango is the best fruit of Hindustān**. Some so praise it as to give it preference over all fruits except the musk-melon (*T.qāwūn*), but such praise outmatches it. It resembles the *kārdī* peach. It ripens in the rains. It is eaten in two ways: one is to squeeze it to a pulp, make a hole in it, and suck out the juice; the other to peel and eat it like the *kārdī* peach. Its tree grows very large[5] and has a leaf somewhat resembling the peach-tree's. The trunk is ill-looking and ill-shaped, but in Bengāl and Gujarāt is heard of as growing handsome (*khūb*).[6]

The **plantain** (Skt. H. *kelā, Musa sapientum)* is another.[7] An Arab calls it *mauz*.[8] Its tree is not very tall, indeed is not to be called a tree, since it is something between a grass and a tree. Its leaf is a little like that of the *amān-qarā*[9], but grows about 2 yards (*qārī*) long and nearly one broad. Out of the middle of its leaves rises, heart-like, a bud which resembles a sheep's heart. As each leaf (petal) of this bud expands, there grows at its base a row of 6 or 7 flowers which become the plantains. These flowers become visible with the lengthening of the heart-like shoot and the opening of the petals of the bud. The tree is understood to flower once only.[10] The fruit has two pleasant qualities, one that it peels easily, the other that it has neither stone nor fibre.[11] It is rather longer and thinner than the egg-plant (P.*bādanjān; Solanum melongena*). It is not very sweet; the Bengāl plantain (that is, *chīnī-champā*) is, however, said to be very sweet. The plantain is a

very good-looking tree, its broad broad, leaves of beautiful green having an excellent appearance.

The *anblī* (H. *imlī*; *Tamarindus indica*, the **tamarind** is another. By this name (*anblī)* people calls the *khurmā-i-hind* (Indian date-tree).[12] It has finely-cut leaves (leaflets, precisely like those of the (T.) *būīā*, except that they are not so fine-cut.[13] It is a very good looking tree, giving dense shade. It grows wild in masses too.

The **mahuwā** (*Bassia latifolia*) is another.[14] People call it also (P.) *gul-chikān* (or *chi*gān, distilling-flower). This also is a very large tree. Most of the wood in the houses of Hindustānīs is from it. Spirit (*'araq*) is distilled from its flowers,[15] not only so, but they are dried and eaten like raisins, and from them thus dried, spirit is also extracted. The flowers taste just like *kishmish*;[16] they have an ill-flavour. The dried flowers are not bad in their natural state; they are eatable. The *mahuwā* grows wild also. Its fruit is tasteless, has rather a large seed with a thin husk, and from this seed, again, oil is extracted.

The **mimusops** (Skt. H. *khirnī*; *Mimusops kauki*) is another. Its tree, though not very large, is not small. The fruit is yellow and thinner than the red jujube (T. *chīkdā, Elaeagnus angustifolia*). It has just the grape's flavour, but a rather bad after-taste; it is not bad, however, and is eatable. The husk of its stone is thin.

The (Skit. H.) **jāman** (*jāmun; Eugenia jambolana*)[17] is another. Its leaf, except for being thicker and greener, is quite like the willow's (T. *tāl*). The tree does not want for beauty. Its fruit is like a black grape, is sourish, and not very good.

The (H.) **kamrak** (*kamrakh;* Beng. *kamrunga; Averrhoa carambola*) is another. Its fruit is five-sided, about as large as the *'ain-ālū*[18] and some 3 inches long. It ripens to yellow; gathered unripe, it is very bitter; gathered ripe, its bitterness becomes sub-acid, not bad, not wanting in pleasantness.[19]

The **jack-fruit** (H. *kadhil*; or *kaṭhal*; B. *kanṭhal*; *Artocarpus integrifolia*) is another. This is a fruit of singular form and flavour; it looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made in to a haggis (*gīpā*);[20] and it is sickeningly sweet. Inside it are filbertlike stones[21] which, on the whole, resemble dates, but are round, not long and have softer substance; these are eaten. The jack-fruit is very adhesive; for this reason people are said to oil mouth and hands before eating of it. It is heard of also as growing, not only on the branches of its tree, but on trunk and root too. One would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises.[22]

The **monkey-jack** (H. *badhal;* B. *burhul; Artocarpus lacoocha*) is another. The fruit may be of the size of a quince (v. apple). Its smell is not bad.[23] Unripe it is a singularly tasteless and empty thing; when ripe, it is not so bad. It ripens soft, can be pulled to pieces and eaten anywhere, tastes very much like a rotten quince, and has an excellent little austere flavour.

The **lote-fruit** (Skt. H. *ber*, *Zizyphus jujuba*) is another. Its Persian name is understood to be *kanār*. It is of several kinds: of one the fruit is larger than the plum (*ālūchā*);[24] another is shaped like the Ḥusainī grape. Most of them are not very good but we saw one in Bāndīr (Gwālior) that was really good. The lote-tree sheds its leaves under the Signs *Saur* and *Jauzā* (The Bull and the Twins), burgeons under *Saraṭān* and *Asad* (the Crab and the Lion) which are the true rainy-season, then becoming fresh and green, and it ripens its fruit under *Dalū* and *Ḥaut* (the Bucket that is, Aquarius, and the Fish).

The (Skt. H.) **karaundā** (*Carissa carandas*, the corinda) is another. It grows in bushes after the fashion of the (T) *chīka* of our country,[25] but the *chīka* grows on mountains, the *karaundā* on the plains. In flavour it is like the rhubarb itself,[26] but is sweeter and less juicy.

The (Skt.) **pāniyālā** (*Flacourtia cataphracta*)[27] is another. It is larger than the plum (*ālūchā*) and like the red-apple unripe.[28] It is a little austere and is good. The tree is taller than the pomegranate's; its leaf is like that of the almond-tree but smaller.

The (H.) **gūlar** (*Ficus glomerata*, the clustered **fig**)[29] is another. The fruit grows out of the tree-trunk, resembles the fig (P. *anjīr*), but is singularly tasteless.

The (Skt.) **āmlā** or *āoṇlā* (*Phyllaṇthus emblica,* the **myrobalan-tree***)* is another. This also is a five-sided fruit.[30] It looks like the unblown cotton-pod. It is an astringent and ill-flavoured thing, but confiture made of it is not bad. It is a wholesome fruit. Its tree is of excellent form and has very minute leaves.

The (H.) **chirūnjī** (*Buchanania latifolia*)[31] is another, This tree had been understood to grow in the hills, but I knew later about it, because there were three or four clumps of it in our gardens, It is much like the *mahuwā.* Its kernel is not bad, a thing between the walnut and the almond, not bad! rather smaller than the pictachio and round; people put it in custards (P. *pālūdā*, H. *phālūdā*) and sweetmeats (Ar. *ḥalwā*).

The **date-palm** (P. *khurmā, Phoenix dactylifera)* is another. This is not peculiar to Hindustan, but is here described because it is not in those countries (Tramontana). It grows in Lamghān also. Its branches (that is, leaves) grow from just one place at its top; its leaves (that is, leaflets) grow on both sides of the branches (midribs) from neck *(būīn)* to tip; its trunk is rough and ill-coloured. Its fruit is like a bunch of grapes, but much larger, People say that the date-palm amongst vegetables resembles an animal in two respects: one is that, as, if an animal's head is cut off, it dries off; the other is that, as the offspring of animal is not produced without the male, so too with the date-palm, it gives no good fruit unless a branch of the male-tree be brought into touch with the female-tree. The truth of this last matter is not known to me. The above-mentioned head of the date-palm is called its cheese. The tree so grows that where its leaves come out is cheese-white; the leaves becoming green as they lengthen. This white part, the so-called cheese, is tolerable eating, not bad, much like the walnut. People make a wound in the cheese, and into this wound insert a leaflet, in such a way that all liquid flowing from the wound runs down it.[32] The tip of the leaflet is set over the mouth of a pot suspended to the tree in such a way that it collects whatever liquor is yielded by the wound. This liquor is rather pleasant if drunk at once; if drunk after two or three days, people say it is quite exhilarating *(kaifīyat).* Once when I had gone to visit Bārī,[33] and made an excursion to the villages on the bank of the Chambal river, we met in with people collecting this date-liquor in the valley bottom. A good deal was drunk; no hilarity was felt; much must be drunk, seemingly, to produce a little cheer.

The **coco-nut palm** (P. *nārgīl*, H. *nāriyal, Cocos nusifera*) is another. An Arab gives it Arabic form and says *nārjīl*; Hindustān people say *nālīr*, or *nārial*, seemingly, by popular error.[34] Its fruit is the Hindī-nut from which black spoons (*qarā qāshūq*) are made and the larger ones of which serve for guitar-bodies. The coco-palm has general resemblance to the date-palm, but has more, and more glistening leaves. Like the walnut, the coconut has a green outer husk; but its husk is of fibre on fibre. All ropes for ships and boats and also cord for sewing boat-seams are heard of as made from these husks. The nut, when stripped of its husk, near one end shews a triangle of hollows, two of which are solid, the third a nothing *(būsh)*, easily pierced. Before the kernel forms, there is fluid inside; people pierce the soft hollow and drink this. It tastes like date-palm cheese in solution, and is not bad.

The (Skt. H.) **tāṛ** *(Borassus flabelliformis,* the **Palmyra-palm**) is another. Its branches (i.e. leaves) also are quite at its top. Just as with the date-palm, people hang a pot on it, take its juice and drink it. They call this liquor *tāṛī*;[35] it is said to be more exhilarating than date liquor. For about a yard along its branches (i.e.leaf-stems)[36] there are no leaves; above this, at the tip of the branch (stem), 30 or 40 open out like the spread palm of the hand, all from one place. These leaves approach a yard in length. People often write Hindi characters on them after the fashion of account rolls *(daftar yūsūnlūq)* (i.e. *tāḍ-patṛas*).

The **orange** (Ar. *nāranj*; H. *nāraṅġī; Citrus aurantium)* and orange-like fruits are others of Hindustān.[37] Oranges grow well in the Lamghānāt, Bājaur and Sawād. The Lamghānāt one is smallish, has a navel,[38] is very agreeable, fragile and juicy. It is not at all like the orange of Khurāsān and those parts, being so fragile that many spoil before reaching Kābul from the Lamghānāt which may be 13-14 *yīghāch* (65-70 miles), while the Astarābād orange, by reason of its thick skin and scant juice, carries with less damage from there to Samarkand, some 270-280 *yīghāch.*[39] The Bājaur orange is about as large as a quince, very juicy and more acid than other oranges. Khwāja Kalān once said to me, "We counted the oranges gathered from a single tree of this sort in Bājaur and it mounted up to 7,000." It has been always in my mind that the word '*nāranj*' was an Arabic form; it would seem to be really so, since everyone in Bājaur and Sawād says (P) *nārang.*[40]

The **lime** (B. *līmū*; H. *nimkbū; C. Acida*) is another. It is very plentiful, about the size of a hen's egg, and of the same shape. If a person poisoned drink the water in which its fibres have been boiled, danger is averted.[41]

The **citron** (P. *turunj*;[42] *C. medica)* is another of the fruits resembling the orange. Bājaurīs and Sawādīs call it *bālang* and hence give the name *bālang-marabbā* to its marmalade *(marabbā)* confiture. In Hindustān people call the *turunj bājaurī.*[43] There are two kinds of *turunj:* one is sweet, flavourless and nauseating, of no use for eating but with peel that may be good for marmalade; it has the same sickening sweetness as the Lamghānāt *turunj*; the other, that of Hindustān and Bājaur, is acid, quite deliciously acid, and makes excellent **sherbet**, well-flavoured, and wholesome drinking. Its size may be that of the Khusrawī melon; it has a thick skin, wrinkled and uneven, with one end thinner and beaked. It is of a deeper yellow than the orange *(nāranj).* Its tree has no trunk, is rather low, grows in bushes, and has a larger leaf than the orange.

The **sangtāra**[44] (H. *santarā*) is another fruit resembling the *orange (nāranj)*. It is like the citron *(turunj)* in colour and form, but has both ends of its skin level;[45] also it is not rough and is somewhat the smaller fruit. Its tree is large, as large as the apricot *(aūrūq)*, with a leaf like the orange's. It is a deliciously acid fruit, making a very pleasant and wholesome **sherbet**. Like the lime it is a powerful stomachic, but not weakening like the orange *(nāranj)*.

The large **lime** which they call (H.) *gal-gal*[45] in Hindustān is another fruit resembling the orange. It has the shape of a goose's egg, but unlike that egg. does not taper to the ends. Its skin is smooth like the *sangtāra's*; it is remarkably juicy.

The (H.) **jānbīrī lime**[47] is another orange-like fruit. It is orange-shaped and, though yellow, not orange-yellow. It smells like the citron *(turunj)*. It is also deliciously acid.

The (Skt. H.) **sadā-fal** (*phal*)[48] is another orange-like fruit. This is pear-shaped, colours like the quince, ripens sweet, but not to the sickly-sweetness of the orange *(nāranj)*.

The **amrd-fal** (Skt. H. *amrit-phal*)[49] is another orange-like fruit.

The **lemon** (H. *karnā, C. limonum*) is another fruit resembling the orange (*nāranj*); it may be as large as the *gal-gal* and is also acid.

The (Skt. H.) **amal-bīd**[50] is another fruit resembling the orange. After three years (in Hindustān) it was first seen today.[51] They say a needle melts away if put inside it;[52] either from its acidity or some other property. It is as acid, perhaps, as the citron and lemon *(turunj* and Iīmū).[53]

In Hindustān there is great variety of flowers. One is the **jāsūn** *(Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*, which some Hindustānīs call (H.) *gazhal*.[54] The flower of *jāsūn* is fuller in colour than that of the pomegranate, and may be of the size of the red-rose, but, the red-rose when its bud has grown, opens simply, whereas, when the *jāsūn-bud* opens, a stem on which other petals grow, is seen like a heart amongst its expanded petals. Though the two are parts of the one flower, yet the outcome of the lengthening and thinning of that stemlike heart of the first-opened petals gives the semblance of two flowers.[55] It is not a common matter. The beautifully coloured flowers look very well on the tree, but they do not last long; they fade in just one day. The *jāsūn* blossoms very well through the four months of the rains; it seems indeed to flower all through the year; with this profusion, however, it gives no perfume.

The **kanīr** (H.) (*Nerium odorum*, the oleander) [56] is another. It is not a grass (*giyāh*). Its tree is in stems like the bush of red rose, though

taller than it. It grows both red and white. Like the peachflower, it is five petalled. It is like the peach-bloom in colour, but opens 14 or 15 flowers from one place, so that seen from a distance they look like one great flower. The oleander-bush is taller than the rose-bush. The red oleander has a sort of scent, faint and agreeable. Like the *jāsūn*, it also blooms well and profusely in the rains, and it is also had through most of the year.

The (H.) **kīūrā** (*kewrā*) *(Pandanus odoratissimus,* the screwpine) is another. It has a very agreeable perfume. Musk has the defect of being dry; **this may be called moist musk, a very agreeable perfume**. The tree's singular appearance notwithstanding, it has flowers perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 *qārīsh* ($13\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 inches) long. It has long leaves having the character of the reed (P.) *gharau*[57] and having spines. Of these leaves, while pressed together bud-like, the outer ones are the greener and more spiny; the inner ones are soft and white. In amongst these inner leaves grow things like what belongs to the middle of a flower, and from these things comes the excellent perfume. When the tree first comes up not yet shewing any trunk, it is like the bush *(būta)* of the male-reed[58] but with wider and more spiny leaves. What serves it for a trunk is very shapeless, its roots remaining shewn.

Yāsman (**jasmine**) is another; the white they call *champā.*[59] It is larger and more strongly scented than our *yāsman*-flower.[60]

Notes and References

1. Vide *BN*, 503-15 & *HCodex*, fs. 282b-288.
2. *Anb* and *anbah* (pronounced *amb* and *ambah*) are now less commonly used names than *ām*. It is an interesting comment on Babur's words that Abū'l Faḍl spells *anb*, letter by letter, and says that the 'b' is quiescent (*'Ain* 28; for the origin of the word mango, Yule's H.J.).
3. The variants, entered in parenthesis, are found in the Bib. Ind. ed. of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 75 and in a *(bāzār)* copy of the *Qirān'us-Sā'dain, cf.BN,* 503. Amir Khusrau was a poet of Hindustān.
4. Daulat Khān Yūsuf-khail Lūdī in 929 AH sent Babur a gift of mangoes preserved in honey *(BN*, p.440).
5. The preceding sentence is out of place in the Turkī text; it may therefore be a marginal note, perhaps not made by Bābur.
6. This sentence suggests that Bābur, writing in Agra or Fatḥpūr did not there see fine mango-trees.
7. See Yule's H.J. on the plantain, the banana of the West.
8. This word is a descendant of Sanskrit *mocha,* and parent of *musa* the botanical name of the fruit (Yule), cf. *BN*, 504.

9. Shaikh Effendī (Kunos), Zenker and de Courteille say of this only that it is the name of a tree. Shaw gives a name that approaches it, *ārman*, a grass, a weed; Scully explains this as *Artemisia vulgaris,* wormwood, but Roxburgh gives no *Artemisia* having a leaf resembling the plantain's. Scully has *arāmadān*, unexplained, which, like *amān-qarā*, may refer to comfort in shade. Bābur's comparison will be with something known in Transoxiana. Maize has general resemblance with the plantain. So too have the names of the plants, since *mocha* and *mauz* stand for the plantain and (Hindi) *mukā'ī* for maize. These incidental resemblances bear, however lightly, on the question considered in the *Ency. Br.* (art. maize) whether maize was early in Asia or not; some writers hold that it was; if Bābur's *amān-qarā* were maize, maize will have been familiar in Transoxiana in his day. cf. *BN,* 504.
10. Abū'l-faẓl mentions that the plantain-tree bears no second crop unless cut down to the stump.
11. Bābur was fortunate not to have met with a seed-bearing plantain.
12. The ripe 'dates' are called (P.) *tamar-i-Hind,* whence our tamarind, and *Tamarindus Indica.*
13. *Sophora alopecuroides*, a leguminous plant.
14. Abū'l Faḍl gives *galaundā* as the name of the 'fruit' (mewā) as that of the fallen flower.
15. Babur seems to say that spirit is extracted from both the fresh and the dried flowers. The fresh ones are favourite food with deer and jackals; they have a sweet spirituous taste. Erskine notes that the spirit made from them was well-known in Bombay by the name of *Moura*, or of Pārsī-brandy, and that the farm of it was a considerable article of revenue. It is described as strong and intoxicating.
16. This is the name of a green stoneless grape which when dried, results in a raisin resembling the sultanas of Europe (Jehāngīr's *Memoirs* and Yelu's H.J. Griffiths' *Journal of Travel*, pp. 359, 388).
17. Erskine notes that this is not to be confounded with *Jāmbū*, the rose-apple.
18. V. *ghat-ālū, ghab-ālū, ghain-ālū and shaft-ālū*, cf. *BN*, 506.
19. Speede giving the fruit its Sanskrit name *kamarunga*, says it is acid, rather pleasant, something like an insipid apple; also that its pretty pink blossoms grow on the trunk and main branches.
20. The *gīpa* is a sheep's stomach stuffed with rice, minced meat, and spices, and boiled as a pudding. The resemblance of the jack, as it hangs on the tree, to the haggis, is wonderfully complete.
21. These when roasted have the taste of chestnuts.
22. For Humayun's note on the jack-fruit see *BN*, Appendix—O: 'Notes by Humayun on Some Hindustānī Fruits', pp. li-liv.
23. *Aīd-i-yamān aīmās*. It is somewhat curious that Babur makes no comment on the odour of the jack itself.

24. Erskine notes that "this is the bullace-plum, small, not more than twice as large as the sloe and not so high-flavoured; it is generally yellow, sometimes red." Like Babur, Brandis enumerated several varieties and mentions the seasonal changes of the tree.
25. This will be Kabul, probably, because Transoxiana is written of by Babur usually, if not invariably, as 'that country', and because he mentions the *chīkda* (i.e. *chīka*) under its Persian name *sinjid*, in his Description of Kabul.
26. P. *mar-manjān* which I take to refer to the *riwājalār* of Kabul, cf. *BN* p.507.
27. People call it (P.) *pālasa* also.
28. Perhaps the red apple of Kabul, where two sorts are common, both rosy, one very much so, but much inferior to the other (Griffith's *Journal of Travel*, p. 388).
29. Its downy fruit grows in bundles from the trunk and large branches.
30. The reference by 'also' (*ham*) will be to the *kamrak*, but both Roxburgh and Brandis say the *āmlā* is six striated, cf. *BN*, 508.
31. The Sanskrit and Bengālī name for the *chirūnjī*-tree is *pīyala.*
32. The leaflet is rigid enough to serve as a runlet, but soon wears out; for this reason, the usual practice is to use one of split bamboo.
33. This is a famous hunting ground between Biānā and Dholpur, visited by him in 933 AH Babur's great-great-grandson Shāh Jehān built a hunting-lodge there.
34. Babur's 'Hindustān people' (*ail)* are those neither Turks nor Afghāns.
35. This name, with its usual form *tāḍī* (toddy), is used for the fermented sap of the date, coco, and *mhār* palms also.
36. Bābur writes of the long leaf-stalk as a branch *(shākh)*; he also seems to have taken each spike of the fan-leaf to represent a separate leaf; *see* Appendix-O.
37. Most of the fruits Bābur describes as orange-like are named in the following classified list, taken from Watts' *Economic Products of India*: "**Citrus aurantium**, *narangi, sangtara, amrit-phal*; **C. decumana**, *pumelo*, shaddock, forbidden-fruit, *sada-phal*; **C. medica** proper, *turunj, limu*; **C. medica limonum**, *jambhira, karna-nebu.*" Under *C. aurantium* Brandis enters both the sweet and the Seville oranges *(nārangī)*; this Bābur appears to do also, cf. *BN*, 510.
38. *Kīndīklīk,* explained in the Elph. Codex by *nāfwār* (f. 238). This detail is omitted by the Persian translation. Firminger's description (p. 221) of Aurangābād oranges suggests that they also are navel-oranges.
39. Useful addition is made to earlier notes on the variability of the *yīghāch*, a variability depending on time taken to cover the ground, by the following passage from Henderson and Hume's *Lahor to Yarkand* (p. 120), which shews that even in the last century the *farsang* (the P. word used in the Persian translation of the *Bābur-nāma* for T. *yīghāch*) was

computed by time. "All the way from Kargallik (Qārghalīq) to Yarkand, there were tall **wooden mile-posts** along the roads, at intervals of about 5 miles, of rather one hour's journey, apart. On a board at the top of each post, or *farsang* as it is called, the distances were very legibly written in Turki."

40. *I.e. nārang* (Skt. *nārangā*) has been changed to *nāranj* in the 'Arab mouth. What is probably one of Humāyūn's notes preserved by the Elph. Codex (f. 238), appears to say—it is mutilated—that *nārang* has been corrupted into *nāranj*, cf. *BN*, 510.

41. The Elph. Codex has a note—mutilated in early binding—which is attested by its scribe as copied from Humāyūn's hand-writing, and is to the effect that once on his way from the Hot-bath, he saw people who had taken poison and restored them by giving lime-juice.

42. P. *turunj*, wrinkled, puckered; Skt. *vījāpūra* and H. *bijaurā (Āyīn 28)*, seed-filled.

43. Bābur may have confused this with H, *bijaurā*; so too appears to have done the writer (Humāyūn?) of a [now mutilated] note in the Elph. Codex (f.238), which seems to say that the fruit of its name went from Bajaur to Hindūstān. Is the country of Bajaur so-named from its indigenous orange *(vījāpūra, whence bijaurā)?* The name occurs also north of Kangra.

44. Of this name variants are numerous, *santra, santhara, samtara*, etc. Watts classes it as a *C. aurantium*; Erskine makes it the common sweet orange; Firminger, quoting Ross (p. 221) writes that, as grown in the Nagpur gardens it is one of the finest Indian oranges, with rind thin, smooth and close. The Emperor Muḥammad Shāh is said to have altered its name to *rang-tāra* because of its fine colour (*rang*) (Forbes). Speede (ii, 109) gives both names. As to the meaning and origin of the name *santara* or *santra*, so suggestive of Cintra, the Portuguese home of a similar orange, it may be said that it looks like a hill-name used in N.E. India, for there is a village in the Bhūtān hills, known from its orange groves as *Santarā-Bāsī* (**The Garden of Oranges**).

45. This refers, presumably, to the absence of the beak characteristic of all citrons.

46. Melter, from the Skt. root *gal*, which provides the names of several lemons by reason of their solvent quality, specified by Bābur (*infra*) of the *amal-bīd*. Erskine notes that in his day the *gal-gal* was known as *kilmek* (*galmak*?).

47. Skt. *Jambīrā*, H, *jambīr*,classed by Abū'l-faḍl as one of the somewhat sour fruits and by Watts as *Citrus medica limonum*.

48. Watts, *C.decumana*, the shaddock or pumelo; Firminger (p.223) has *C. decumana pyriformis* suiting Bābur's "pear-shaped". What Bābur compared it with will be the Transoxanian pear and quince (*P. amrūd and bilhī*) and not the Indian guava and Bengal quince (*P. amrūd* and *H. bael*), cf. *BN*, 512.

49. The Turkī text writes *amrd*. Watts classes the *amrit-phal* as a *C. aurantium*. This supports Erskine's suggestion that it is the mandarin-orange. Humāyūn describes it in a note which is written pell-mell in the text of the Elph. Codex and contains also descriptions of the *kāmila* and *santara* oranges; it can be seen translated in Appendix-O.
50. So spelled in the Turkī text and also in two good MSS. of the Pers. trs. I.O. 217 and 218, but by Abū'l-faẓl *amal-bīt*. Both P. *bīd and P. bīt* mean willow and cane (ratan), so that *amal-bīd (bīt)* can mean acid-willow and acid-cane. But as Babur is writing of a fruit like an orange, the cane that bears an acid fruit, *Calamus rotang*, can be left aside in favour of *Citrus medica acidissima*. Of this fruit the solvent property Babur mentions, as well as the commonly known service in cleansing metal, link it, by these uses, with the willow and suggest a ground for understanding, as Erskine did, that *amal-bīd* meant acid-willow; for willow-wood is used to rub rust off metal.
51. This statement shows that Babur was writing the *Description of Hindustan* in 935 AH (1528-29 AD) which is the date given for it by Shaikh Zain.
52. This story of the needle is believed in India of all the citron kind, which are hence called *suī-gal* (**needle-melter**) in the Dakhin (Erskine).
53. Also see Appendix-O: 'Notes by Humayun on Some Hindustān Fruits' *BN*, pp.li-liv.
54. Hindustani *garḥal (guḍhal)*. Many varieties of Hibiscus (syn, Althea) grow in India; some thrive in Surrey gardens. The *jāsūn* by name and colour can be taken as what is known in Malyalam and Tamil as the shoe-flower, from its use in darkening leather (Yule, H.J.).
55. The peduncle supporting the plume of medial petals is clearly seen only when the flower opens first. The plumed Hibiscus is found in florists' catalogues described as 'double'.
56. This Anglo-Indians call also rose-bay. A Persian name appears to be *zahr-giyāh* (poison-grass).
57. *Calamus scriptorius*. Abū'l Faḍl compares the leaves to *jawārī*, the great millet; Blochmann (*'Ain*, p.83) translates *jawārī* by maize *(juwāra)*.
58. T. *aīrkāk-qūmūsh*, a name Scully enters unexplained. Under *qūmūsh* (reed) he enters *Arundo madagascarensis*; Babur's comparison will be with some Transoxianian *Arundo* or *Calamus* presumably, cf. *BN*, p. 514.
59. *Champā* seems to have been Bābur's word (*ECodex* and *HCodex)* but it is the name for *Michelia champaka*; the Persian translation corrects it by *Chambelī (Yāsman*, Jasmine).
60. Babur noticed only a few of the typical flowers of Hindustān, for a tentative list whereof see R. Nath, *Private Life of the Mughals of India* (1526-1803 AD) (Jaipur 1994), pp. 76-77.

6

DESCRIPTION OF GWALIOR[1]

(AH 935/15 September 1528 to 5 September 1529)

On Thursday (24 September 1528), we rode on, crossed the river **Chambal** and made the mid-day prayer on its bank. Thereafter, between the two prayers, mid-day and afternoon, we started (towards Gwalior), passed the river Kawārī (Kuārī) and dismounted. The Kawārī-water being high through rain, we crossed it by boat, making the horses swim over.

Next day (25 September 1528), Friday, which was *'Āshūr* (*Muḥarram*, 10th), we rode on, took over noon meals and rest at a village on the road, and at the bed-time prayer dismounted a *kuroh* (=2 miles) north of Gwalior, in a *chār-bāgh* which was ordered to be laid out last year (1527 AD).[2]

Riding on, next day (26 September 1528), after the mid-day prayer, we visited the low hills to the north of Gwalior, (Pl. V) and the Praying-place, went into the **fort**[3] through the gate called *Hāthī-Pol* (Elephant-Gate) which joins Mānsingh's great buildings (*'imārāt*) and dismounted, close to the other prayer, at the palaces of Rāja Bikramājīt (situated north of the Mān-Mandir), in which Raḥīmdād had settled himself.

(Next day, 27 September 1528), I visited the palatial mansions (*'imāratlār*) of Raja Mānsingh and Bikramājīt thoroughly. **They are wonderful buildings,** entirely built of hewn stone (in heavy and unsymmetrical blocks, however). Of all the Rājas' buildings (in the fort of Gwalior Fig. 5), Mānsingh's is the best and the loftiest. It is more elaborately worked on its **eastern facade** (Pls. VI-VII) than on the others. This face may be 40 to 50 *qārī* (yards) high[4] and is entirely of hewn stone, whitened with plaster.[5] In parts, it is four storeys high; the lower two (in the basement) are very dark. We went through them with candles. On one (eastern) side of this building are five *chhatrīs* (surmounting the respective bastions), having between each two of them a smaller square one, viz, a *jharokhā* **after the fashion of Hindustān**. On the larger ones are fastened sheets of gilded copper. On the outside of the walls is painted **(glazed)-tile work**, the semblance of plantain trees being shown all round with green tiles (Pls.

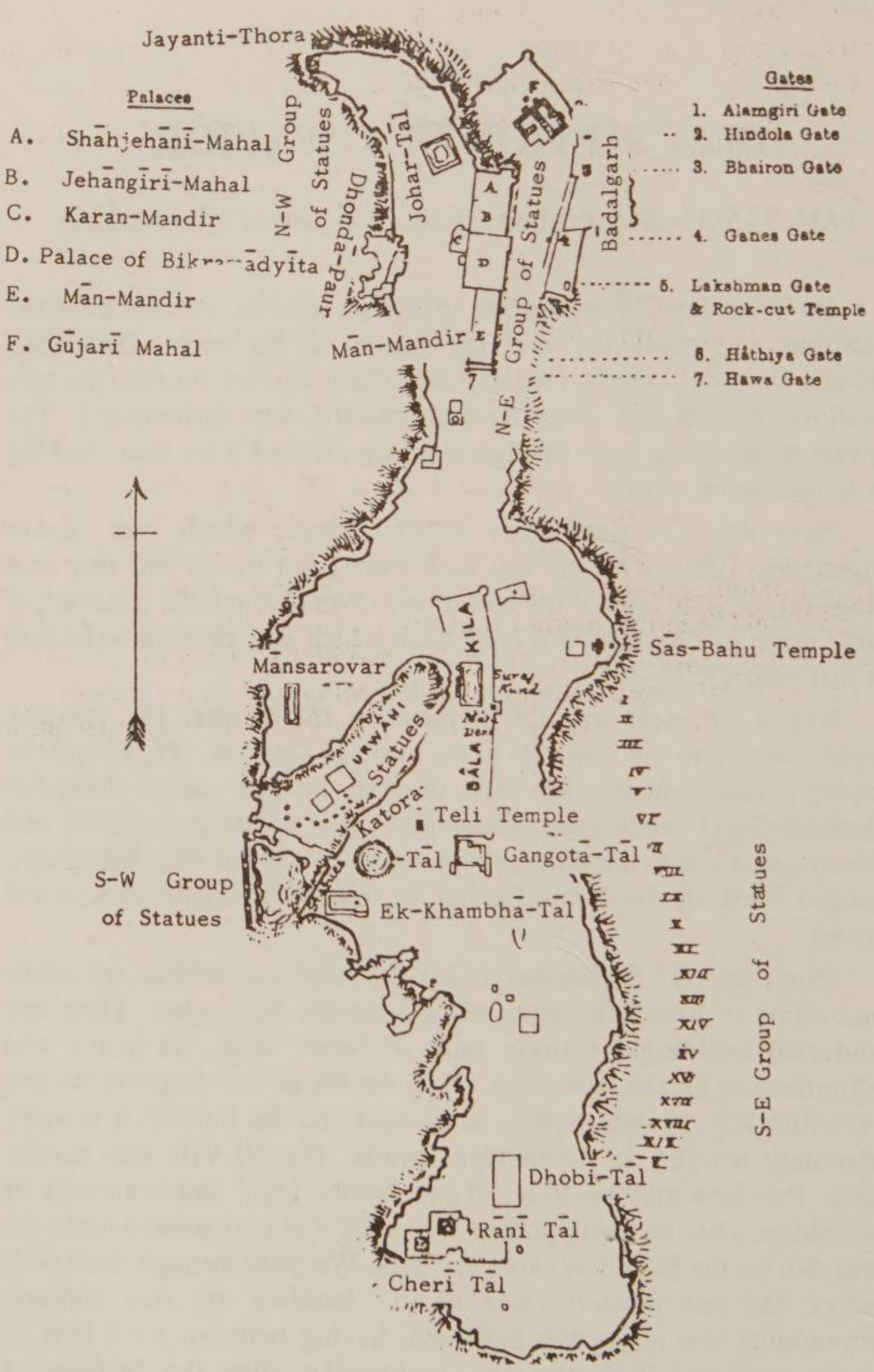


Fig. 5: Fort of Gwalior with buildings.

VIII-IX). The *Hāthī-Pol* gate is also on the eastern front, flanked on either side by a similar bastion,[6] (Pl. X). Hāthī being what these people call an elephant, *Pol* a gate.

A sculptured, **life-size image of elephant with two riders** (*fīl-bān*) stands (to the left) on exit (*chīqīsh*) of this gate. It is exactly like an elephant and it is from it that the gate is called Hāthī-Pol. A window in the lowest storey of the building opens towards this elephant and gives its close view. The *chhatrīs* mentioned above constitute the superstructure (*murtaba*) of this building. The sitting rooms are on the second storey (*ṭabaqāt*)[7] in a hollow even. They are rather dark and airless places, although adequate arrangement for a comfortable living, for example, the provision of *punkhās* (hand-fans), in accordance with the **Hindustānī custom**, had been made therein.

The buildings of Mānsingh's son Bikramājīt are in a central position (*aūrta dā*) on the north side of the fort. (Pls. XI-XIII) The son's buildings do not match the father's. He has made a great **dome**, very dark but growing lighter if one stays awhile in it. Under it is a smaller building into which no light comes from any side. When Raḥīmdād settled down in Bikramājīt's buildings, he made a rather small hall or *dālān* (*kīchīkrāq tālār-ghīnā*) on the top of this dome. From Bikramajit's buildings a **tunnel** ('*tūr-yūl*' = *surang*) has been made to his father's palace. It is not seen from outside and is a secret passage connecting the two palaces.

After visiting these buildings, we rode to a college Raḥīmdād had made by the side of a large tank (*Gaṅgolā-Tāl*). There we enjoyed a flower-garden (*bāghchā*) he had laid out and returned to the *chār-bāgh*, where was our camp, late.

Raḥīmdād has planted a great numbers of flowers in his garden (*bāghchā*), many being beautiful red oleanders. In these places, the oleander-flower is peach (*shaft-ālū*)[8], those of Gwalior are beautiful deep red. I took some of them to Agra and had them planted in gardens there. On the south of (Rāḥīmdād's) garden is a large lake (*kul*) (*Gaṅgolā-Tāl*) where the waters of the rains gather. On its west is a lofty idol-house (Telī or *Teliṅgānī* Temple), side by side with which Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn Ailtmish (Altamsh, Iltutmish, 1211-1236 AD) mad a F.iday (*Jāma'*) mosque.[9] This (Teliṅgānī Temple) is a very lofty building (*'imārat*), the highest in the fort so much so that it is seen, with the fort, from the Dholpur-hill (about 30 miles away). People say the stone for it was cut out and brought from the large lake above-mentioned (*Gaṅgola-Tāl*).[10] Raḥīmdād has made a wooden

(*yīghāch*) *tālār* (*dālān*) in his garden and porches at the gates which, after the **Hindustānī fashion** are somewhat low and shapeless.

Next day (28 September 1528, 13 *Muḥarram*) at the mid-day prayer, we rode out to visit places in Gwalior we had not yet seen. We saw the building (*'imārat*) call *Bādalgaḍh*[11] which is part of Mansingh's fort (*qal'ā*). We went through the *Hāthī-Pol* and across the fort to a place (on its other side) called *Urwā* (*Urwāh, Urwāhī*) which is a valley bottom (*qūl*) on its western side. Though Urwā is outside the fort-wall running along the top of the hill, it has two stages (*murtaba*) of high wall at its mouth. The higher of these walls is some 30 to 40 *qārī* (yards) high; this is the longer one. At each end, it joins the wall of the fort. The second wall curves in and joins the middle part of the first (Pl. XIV); it is the lower and shorter of the two.

This curve of wall has made a secret water-reservoir. Within it is a **stepped well** (*wāīn, bāolī, wāv*) in which water is reached by 10 or 15 steps. Above the gate leading from the valley to this walled-well the name of Sulṭān **Shihābu'd-Dīn** Ailtmish (Iltutmish) is **inscribed** with the date AH 630 (= 1232 AD).[12] Below this outer wall and outside the fort there is a large lake which seems to dwindle (at times) till no lake remains; from it water goes to the secret water reservoir. There are two other lakes inside—*Urwā* the water of which those who live in the fort prefer to all other.

Three sides of *Urwā* are solid rock, not the red rock of Biānā but one paler in colour. On these sides people have cut out **idol-statues** (of Jaina *Tīrthankaras*), large and small, one large statue on the south side being perhaps 20 *qārī* (about 20 yards) high.[13] **These idols are shewn quite naked (nude) without covering for the privities.**[14] Along the sides of the two Urwā lakes 20 or 30 wells have been dug, with water from which useful vegetables (*subzī kārlīklār*), flowers and trees are grown. Urwā is not a bad place; it is shut in (*tūr*). The idols are its defect and I ordered them to be destroyed.[15]

Going out of Urwā into the fort again, we enjoyed (the view from) the window of the *Sulṭānī-Pol* (Dhoṇḍā-Paur) which must have been closed through the pagan time till now. Thence we went to Raḥīmdād's **flower-garden** at the evening prayer, dismounted and slept there.

(Next day, on 29 September 1528) we rode from the flower-garden to visit the **idol-houses** (Temples) of Gwalior. Some are two, and some are three storeys high, each storey being rather low, in the ancient fashion.[16] On their stone plinths (*izāra*) are sculptured

images. Some temples, college-fashion, have a portico, large high cupolas (*chhatrīs* or *śikharas*?) and *madrasa*-like cells, each topped (surmounted) by a slender stone (*śikhara*). In the lower cells are idols carved in the rock.[17]

After enjoying the sight of these buildings (*'imāratlār*),[18] we left the fort by the south gate.[19] We made an excursion to the south and went (north) to the *chār-bāgh* Raḥīmdād had laid out in the vicinity of the *Hāthī-Pol*. He had prepared a feast of cooked meat (*āsh*) for us and, after setting excellent food before us, made offering of a mass of goods and coin worth 4 *lākhs*. From his *chār-bāgh* I rode to my own.

On Wednesday the 15th of the month (of *Muḥarram*) (30 September 1528), I went to see a **waterfall** about 6 *kurohs* (12 miles) to the south-east of Gwalior. Close to the mid-day prayer, we reached a fall where sufficient water for one mill was coming down a slope (*qīā*) about 20 cubits (*arghamchī*) high. Below the fall, there is a large lake; above it water comes flowing through solid rock. There is solid rock also below the fall. A lake forms wherever water falls. On the banks of the water lie piece after piece of rock as if for seats, but water is said not always to be there. We sat down above the fall and ate *mā'jūn*, went upstream to visit its source, returned, got out on higher ground and stayed while musicians played and reciters repeated things (*nīma aītilār*). The ebony-tree which the *Hindīs* (residents of Hindustān) call *tindū* was pointed out to those who had not seen it before. We went down the hill and, between evening and bed-time prayers, rode away, slept at a place, reached near the second watch (midnight) and with the on-coming of the first watch of day (6 a.m.—16 *Muḥarram*/1 October 1528) reached the *chār-bāgh* and dismounted.

On Friday (17 *Muḥarram*/2 October 1528), I visited the **garden of lemons and pumeloses** (*sadā-fal*) in a valley-bottom amongst the hills above a village called **Sukhjana** (near Gwalior) which is 'Ṣalāḥud'd-Dīn's (Silhadī's) birth place. Returning to *chār-bāgh*, I dismounted there in the first watch (of night).

(Babur returned from Gwalior to Dholpur on 4 October 1528).

Notes and References

1. Vide *BN*, 607-14 and *HCodex*, fs. 340-344b.
2. This shows that he founded gardens practically wherever he went and also founded one at Gwalior, on the northern side of its fort, probably in the Madāristān area.

3. The fort hill is 300 ft high at the northern end and 274 ft at the southern. Its length from north to south is 1-3/4 miles; its breadth varies from 600 ft opposite the main entrance (*Hāthī-Pol*) to 2800 ft in the middle opposite the **Sās-Bahū** temple.
4. The height of the eastern face is 100 ft and of the western 60 ft. The total length from north to south of the outside wall is 300 ft. the breadth of the palace from east to west is 160 ft.
5. The whole was plastered over white to allow the colour tiles of the wall glisten dazzlingly. Cunningham sought for and found plaster in crevices of carved work.
6. The ground rises steeply from this gate to an inner one called *Hawā-Pol*, from the rush of air through it.
7. Rooms opening on inner and open courts appear to form the third storey of the residence.
8. The rosy colour of peach-flowers is lip-red. Babur's contrast seems to be between those red oleanders of Hindustān that are rosy-red and the deep red ones he found at Gwalior.
9. It is no longer extant, though this author could trace its inscription, cf. *Islamic Architecture & Culture in India* (Delhi 1982) pp. 51-52, Pl. 18. Babur's reference, however, points to its exact situation.
10. He described it but did not demolish or damage it, nor used a disparaging word for it.
11. A large outwork inside the *Gwālior-Gate* near the *Gūjarī-Maḥal* which he might have been tempted to see.
12. For details of this inscription, see this author's *Islamic Architecture & Culture*...., op. cit. p. 51.
13. Cunningham gave 57 ft as its height which is almost correct.
14. This was his complaint and objection and **it was owing to their nudeness that he ordered them to be mutilated**.
15. Because these were nude and violated Babur's code of decency, not because of any religious bias. The statues were not broken up, they were only mutilated.
16. It is noteworthy that he did not destroy these temples and, instead, he described them, not without a sense and feeling of admiration.
17. This description is not intelligible. Perhaps, the temples he visited were destroyed later (most probably during the reign of Aurangzeb, 1658-1707 AD) and are no longer extant. He also might have seen rock-cut caves containing beautiful sculptures of the *Jinas* (Jaina *Tirthankaras*) on the eastern front of hill on which the fort is situated.
18. So, undoubtedly, did he enjoy the visit to these temples and he did not destroy them.
19. The *Ghargaj*-Gate on the south is just a postern approached by a flight of stone steps and there is no road which could be used by his horses.

APPENDIX — C.

INSCRIPTIONS OF BĀBUR AND HUMĀYŪN IN THE FORT OF GWALIOR

Babur visited Gwalior, from 25 September to 3 October 1528 A.D. His general Khwāja Raḥīmdād (paternal-nephew of Mahdī Khwāja) had occupied its fort, on his behalf, in 933 AH/1526 AD and, as Babur mentioned in the *BN*, Raḥīmdād built a **College** (*madrasa*) by the side of a large tank and laid out a *chār-bāgh* (four-quartered garden). As it appears, this college stood somewhere between the *Hāthiyā-Paur* (*Hāthī-Pol*, Elephant-Gate) and the *Gaṅgolā-Tāl.* Babur's description shows that Raḥīmdād's *chār-bāgh* was situated just near the *Hāthī-Pol.* This *chār-bāgh* is no longer extant. But a large building still stands on the site of the former. It is the *Chaurāsī-Khambhā* or the Hall of 84-pillars, the outer sides of which have been walled up. As the corbelled ceilings (*vitānas*) of the two bays, including that of the entrance porch on the east side (Plate XV), and capitals of columns show, it originally belonged to Rāja Mānsingh Tomar (1486-1516 AD). This could have, possibly, served as his Assembly-Hall (*Sabhā; Dīwān-i-'Ām*) where, probably, the great music conference was held and the *Māna-Kutūhala*, a treatise on Indian Music was compiled. Raḥīmdād seems to have converted this spacious building into a *madrasa* and, as it appears, it was he who added an imposing *Īwān*-**portal** to its northern side (Plate XVI). A *nāgarī* inscription is carved on the right hand wall of this portal near the *mihrāb.* It is readable as follows:

1. संवतु **1586** वर्ष का .....
2. बावु (ब) र नृ (नृ) पति साहि (शाह = पादशाह) गजी (ग़ाज़ी) तकेनज ?
3. षोज (ख़्वाजा) ना (र) **हमिदाद का मदरस....**
4. ---- ----- ----- ----- ------
5. कनफुनाम(?) धी (बिन) अलह (अल्ला) दाद षनारनौ (बनावनौ) ....

It seems to have been carved by an illiterate mason, but the date of the inscription VS 1586/1529 AD is distinct, and the names of Babur and Raḥīmdād can also be unmistakably deciphered (Fig. 6). It also mentions '*madrasa*' with the name of Raḥīmdād. As it appears, this building was taken over by him and converted into a '*madrasa*'. This

Fig. 6: Babur's *Nāgari* inscription in the portal of the Chaurāsī Khambā, Gwalior Fort (V.S. 1586—1529 AD).

inscription was, obviously, placed here in 1529 after Babur's visit in 1528 AD.

Though Cunningham mentions another inscription of Babur in the fort of Gwalior dated AH 935/1528 AD, it is no longer traceable.

This building *Chaurāsī Khambhā* also bears a long Arabic-Persian inscription carved in relief in beautiful *Naskhī* (Plate XVII) on a buff-coloured sandstone slab, placed on the exterior side of the stairway of its eastern porch. It opens with usual: '*Bismillah-ir Reḥmān-ir Raḥīm*' which is followed by the *Kalma*. The date 25th of the Muḥarram AH 938/1531 AD is then recorded in Arabic syllables. The rest of it is Persian recording the construction of this public building by one Yār Muḥammad, son of Maulānā Bahlol Nālbanda Kābulī. Finally, it mentions that this place is useful alike to the friend and the foe, suggesting that **it was used as a Court** and, for that matter, a *Dīwān-i-'Ām,* for dispensation of justice. It seems that the building, which was originally erected by Rāja Mānsingh as an Assembly-Hall (c. 1500 AD), and used during Babur's reign (1526-1530 AD) as a *madrasa*, and also probably as a mosque, as the *qiblah* on the western side of the *īwān-portal* indicates, was further renovated during the time when Humāyūn resided in the fort (1531AD). Cunningham mentioned another inscription of Humāyūn in the fort of Gwalior dated in the same year, that is, 938/1531, but this is also lost to us.

7

OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS OF HINDUSTĀN

Description of Delhī[1] (AH 932/1526 AD)

(Soon after the Battle of Pānīpat, 20 April 1526, Babur despatched Humāyūn to take Agra and himself proceeded towards Ḍelhī).

On 21 April 1526, we marched on and when we had gone 2 miles, dismounted, for the sake of the horses, on the bank of the Jūn (river Jamunā).

On Tuesday (12 Rajab 932, 24 April 1526), after we had halted on two nights and had made the circuit of (paid respects to) **Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliya's Tomb** (death, 1325 AD), we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn at Delhī. That same night, being Wednesday-eve, we made an excursion into the fort of Dihlī[2] and there spent the night.

Next day (Wednesday, 13 Rajab 932, 25 April 1526), I made the circuit of (visited and paid respects to) Khwājah Quṭbu'd-Dīn (Bakhtiyār Kākī) Ushi's tomb (d.1235 AD) and visited the **tombs** and residences of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban[3] (d.1286 AD) and Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī[4] (d. 1316 AD); his *Mīnār*[5]; *Hauḍ-i-Shamsī* (built by *Shamsuddīn* Iltutmish) and *Hauḍ-i-Khāṣṣ* (built by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī in 1293 AD) ; and the **tombs** and **gardens** of Sulṭān Bahlol Lodī (d. 1487 AD) and Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī (d. 1517 AD). Having done this, we dismounted at the camp, went on a boat, and there *'araq* was drunk.

On Thursday, 26 April 1526, we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn at Tughluqābād. Next day, Friday 27 April 1526, *Khutba* was pronounced in my name at the congregational prayer at Delhī. On 28 April 1526, while I was proceeding towards Agra, I made an excursion to *Tughlaqābād.*[6]

Description of Āgrā[7] (AH 932-935/1526-1529 AD)

-1-

(Babur left Delhī for Āgrā on Saturday, 16 Rajab 932/28 April 1526 and reached there on Friday 22 Rajab 932/4 May 1526).

We dismounted at the **mansion** (*manzil*) of Sulaimān Farmūlī in a suburb (Sikandarā) of Agra, but as the place was far from the **fort**, we moved the following day to Jalāl Khān *Jighat's* house.

Bikramājīt, Rāja of Gwalior, was killed. His children and family were in Āgrā (fort). When they were prevented from the escaping, they made Humāyūn a voluntary offering of a mass of jewels and valuables, amongst which was the **famous diamond** which 'Alāu'd-Dīn (Khaljī)[8] must have brought (from the Deccan). Its reputation is that every appraiser has estimated its value at two and a half days' food for the whole world. Apparently, it weighs 8 *misqāls* (320 *ratīs*). Humāyūn offered it to me when I arrived at Āgrā. I just gave it him back.

A *parganā* worth 7 *lākh* (*dāms*) was bestowed on Ibrāhīm's mother and she was sent out of the fort with her old servants, and given encamping-ground (*yūrt*) two miles below Āgrā.

On Tuesday, 10 May 1526/28 Rajab 932, I entered Agra Fort at the afternoon prayer and dismounted at the **mansion** (*manzil*) of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (Lodī).

-2-

On Thursday, 4 Rabī-II 935/17 December 1528, it was settled that Chīqmāq Beg with Shāhī *ṭamghāchī*[9] clerkship, should measure the road between Āgrā and Kābul.[10] At every 9th *kuroh* (c. 18 miles), a **tower** was to be erected 12 *qārīs* high[11] and having a **chār-darā** (*chaukhaṇḍī*) on the top. At every 18 *kuroh* (about 36 miles), 6 post-horses were to be kept fastened (for working the *dāk-chowkī* system) and arrangement was made for the payment of post-masters and grooms and for horse-corn. The order was:

> "If the place where the horses are fastened up, be near a crown-domain, let those there provide for the matters mentioned; if not, let the cost be charged on the Beg in whose *parganā*, the post-house (*dāk-khānah*) may be."[12]

Description of the Mewāt Region[13] (AH 933/1527 AD)

The **Mewāt country** lies near Delhi, yielding revenue of 3 or 4 *krurs*. 'Ḥasan Khān Mewātī was its hereditary ruler. But his submission to the Delhi sulṭān was only nominal. Mewāt was a hill-country and owing to its difficult terrain, it was not easily subdued. We showed favour to 'Ḥasan Khān, but he disregarded our kindness and began hostilities. Hence we moved to subdue Mewāt. Having made four night-halts on the way, we dismounted on the bank of *Mānas-Nī*,[14] 6 *kurohs* (12 miles) from **Alwar**, the present seat of the government in

Mewāt. 'Ḥasan Khān and his forefathers must have had their seat in **Tijārā**, but on my conquest of the Punjāb, he took up his residence in the fort of Alwar.

Marching from that camp on Wednesday 1 Rajab 933/13 April 1527, we came to within 2 *kurohs* (4 miles) of Alwar. I went to see the **fort**, there spent the night, and next day went back to the camp.

On Thursday, 9 Rajab 933/21 April[15] 1527, we marched from Alwar and dismounted on the bank of the *Mānas*-water.

Praise had been heard of the Fīrūzpur-spring (*Jhirkā*) and of the great lake of Kūtila.[16] Leaving the camp on that same ground, I rode out on Sunday (12 Rajab/24 April), both to visit these places and to set Humāyūn on his way. After visiting Fīrūzpur and its spring on that same day, *mā'jūn* was eaten. In the valley where the spring rises, oleanders (*kaner*) were in bloom. The place is not without charm but is over-praised. I ordered a **reservoir of hewn stone 10 by 10** (*qārī*, yard) to be made where the water widened, spent the night in that valley, next day rode on and visited the **Kūtila** lake. It is surrounded by mountain-skirts. The *Mānas-Nī* is said to flow into it. It is a very large lake, so much so that from its one side, the other side is not clearly visible. In the middle of it is an island. At its sides are many small boats, by going off in which the villagers living near it are said to escape from any tumult or disturbance. Even on our arrival, a few people went in them to the island in the middle of the lake.

(Thence Babur proceeded to Khārī and Todā-Bhīm for Biānā).[17]

Going on from that place, we halted one night, then dismounted at **a spring situated on the bill of a mountain between Bhusāwar and Chausā** (Jūsā, Chausaṭh). There **awnings** were set up and we committed the sin of *mā'jūn*. It is a perfect spring. In Hindustān, where there are never running waters (artificial water-courses), people seek out the springs themselves. The rare **springs** that are found, come oozing drop by drop (*āb-zih*) out of the ground, not bubbling up like springs of those lands. From this spring comes about a half-mill-water. It bubbles up on the hill-skirt; meadows lie round it and it is a very beautiful landscape. **I ordered octagonal reservoir of hewn stone to be made above it.**[18]

Description of Sīkrī (Fatehpur Sīkrī)[19] (AH 933-935/1527-1528 AD)

-1-

Marching out of Āgrā on Saturday, 14 Jumāda-I 933/16 February 1527,[20] we dismounted at the place where the wells had been dug. We

marched on the next day. It crossed my mind that well-watered ground for a large camp was at **Sīkrī**.[21] It being possible that the infidel (*Kāfir*, viz. Rāṇā Sāngā) was encamped there and in possession of water, we arrayed precisely, in right, left and centre. As Qismatī and Darwesh-i-Muḥammad Sārbān in their comings and goings had seen and got to know all sides of **Biānā**, they were sent ahead to look for camping ground on the bank of the **Sīkrī-lake** (*kul*).

-2-

(He liked Sīkrī and after the Battle of Khānwah, 17 March 1527, founded here a garden, as described hereinafter).

Leaving this place, we visited Biānā again, went on to Sīkrī, dismounted there at the side of a **garden** which had been ordered made, and stayed for two days supervising the garden.[22] Thence we reached Agra on Thursday 23 Rajab 933/25 April 1527.

(Babur spent the *Ramḍhān* month in the *Bāgh-i-Hasht Bihisht* (Garden of Eight Paradises) at Agra. On the last day of the month, he went to Sikri to celebrate the *Ramḍhān* feast (*'Īd-u-Fiṭr*))

Tents were set up on a stone platform[23] made on the north-east side of the **Garden of Victory** (**Fateḥ-Bāgh**) (Pl. XVIII) which is now being laid out at Sīkrī and in them the Feast was held.

-3-

On Monday, 7 Rabī-I 934/1 December 1527, I rode out to visit **Sīkrī**. The **octagonal platform** (Pls. XIX-XX) which was ordered to be made in the middle of the lake was ready. We went over by boat, had an awning set up on it and elected for *mā'jūn*.

-4-

We started from Dholpur for Sīkrī. In the first watch we dismounted at the garden (*Fateḥ-Bāgh*) now in the making at Sīkrī. The **garden-wall** and **well-buildings** (Pl. XXI) were not getting on to my satisfaction. Therefore, the overseers were threatened and punished. We rode on from Sīkrī, passed through Miḍhākar and reached Agra (on Thursday, 30 Muḥarram 935/15 October 1528).[24]

Description of Dholpur[25] (AH 933-935/1527-1529 AD)

-1-

On Friday, 24 Zü'l-qa'da 933 AH/24 August 1527, we set out to visit **Dholpur**. That night, I slept at a place half-way; reached Sikandar's (Lodi's) **dam** at dawn, and dismounted there.

At the end of the hill, below the dam, the rock is of **building-stone** (red sandstone fit for building). I had Ustād Shāh Muḥammad, the stone-cutter brought and gave him an order that if a house could be cut all in one piece in that rock (excavated into the living rock)[26] it was to be done, but that if the rock were too low for a residence (*'imārat*), it was to be levelled and have **a reservoir, all in one piece, cut out of it**.[27]

From Dholpur we went on to visit **Bārī**.[28] Next morning (26 August 1527), I rode out from *Bārī* through the hills between it and the Chambal-river in order to **view the river**. This done, I went back to *Bārī*. In these hills, we saw the ebony-tree, the fruit of which people call *tindū*. It is said that there are white ebony-trees also and that most ebony-trees in these hills are of this kind.[29] On leaving *Bārī*, we went to Sīkrī; we reached Agra on the 29 of the same month (Zū'l-qa'da/28 August 1527).

-2-

On 6 Muḥarram 935/21 September 1528, we rode on and crossed the Ghambhīr-Bāṅgaṅgā, shortly after the mid-day prayer. Near the time of the other prayer, we dismounted a *kuroh* (2 miles) west of Dholpur at a place where a **garden** and **house** had been ordered to be made (in 933/1527 as described above).

That place is at the end of a **beaked hill**, its beak being of solid red building-stone (*'imārat-tāsh*). I had ordered the (beak of the) hill dressed down to the ground level and that if there remained a sufficient height, a house was to be cut out in it, if not it was to be levelled and a tank (*hauḍ*) cut out in its top. As it was not found high enough for a (rock-cut) house, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter[30] was ordered to level it and cut out an **octagonal roofed tank**. North of this tank, the ground is thick with mangoes, *jāman* (*engenia jambolana*) and all sorts of trees. Amongst them I ordered a **well** made 10 by 10 (*qārī*), yard. Now it was almost ready. Its water goes to the afore-named tank. To the north of this tank Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī's **dam** is flung across (the valley). Houses have been built on it and above it, the waters of the Rains gather into a great lake. On the east of this lake, is a **garden**.[31] I ordered a seat and four-pillared platform (*tālār*: *dālān* or *chhatrī*) to be cut out in the solid rock on that same side. I also ordered a **mosque** to be built on the western side.

-3-

On Sunday, 19 Muḥarram 935/4 October 1528, we rode before dawn from the *Chār-bāgh* (of Gwalior), crossed the river Kawārī,

rested in the noon, passed the river Chambal at Sunset and entered the **Dholpur Fort** between the evening and bed-time prayers. We visited the *ḥammām* (bath) which Abū'l Fatḥ had made in the fort, by lamplight, rode on and dismounted at the **dam-head** where the new *chār-bāgh* (*Bāgh-i-Nīlūfar*) (the Lotus Garden) is in the making.

Having stayed the night there, at dawn (Monday, 20 Muḥarram 935/5 October 1528), I visited the buildings which were ordered to be made (as described above). The face (*yūz*) of the roofed-tank which was ordered to be cut in solid rock, was not coming up proportionately. Hence more stone-cutters were engaged in order to make the **tank**-bottom level, pour in water and, by help of the water, to get the sides to one height. They got the face up straight (as desired) before the other prayer. They were then ordered to fill the tank with water, by help of the water made the sides match and then busied themselves to smooth them. I ordered a **water-chamber** (*āb-khānah*, water-house) to be made at a place where it would be cut in the solid rock; inside it was to be a small **tank** also cut in the solid rock (monolithic).[32]

-4-

On Tuesday (9 Rabī-II 935/21 December 1528), I went to see the buildings for a **reservoir** and **well** at Dholpur. I rode from the (Agra) garden at one watch (*pahr*) and one *gharī* (9.20 am) and I entered the Dholpur garden when 5 *gharīs* of the 1st night-watch (*pās*) had gone (7.40 pm).[33]

On Thursday (11 Rabī-II 935/23 December 1528), the **stone-well** (*saṅgīn-chāh*), the 26 **rock-spouts** (*tāsh-tār-nau*) and **rock-pillars** (**tāsh-sitūn**), and the **water-courses** (*ārīqlār*) cut on the solid slope (*yak pāra qīā*) were all ready.[34] At the 3rd watch (*pahr*) of the same day, preparation for drawing water from the well was made. On account of a smell (*āīd*) in the water, it was ordered, for prudence sake, that they should turn the **well-wheel** (*Rehaṇṭ*) without rest for 15 days-and-nights, and so draw off the water. Gifts were made to the stone-cutters and labourers, and the whole body of workmen in the way customary for master-workmen and wage-earners of Agra.

On Sunday, (28 Rabī-II 935/9 January 1529), we crossed the Jūn (Jamunā) at the 6th *gharī* of the 3rd watch (2.15 am) and started for the **Lotus-garden** (*Bāgh-i-Nīlūfar*) of Dholpur. The 3rd watch was near its end (Sunday mid-day) when we reached there. Places were assigned on the border of the garden, where *begs* and the household might **build** or make camping-grounds for themselves.

On Thursday (3 Jumāda-I 935/13 January 1529), a place was fixed in the south-east of the garden for a **bath** (*ḥammām*). The ground was to be levelled. I ordered a plinth (*kursī*) to be erected on the levelled ground, and a bath to be arranged, in one room of which was to be made a **reservoir** (tank) 10 × 10 *qārī* (yards).

On Friday (4 Jumāda-I 935/14 January 1529), we rode out from the **Lotus-Garden** at the 6th *gharī* (8.15 am); at the evening prayer we reached Agra.

On Tuesday (1 February 1529), after writing letters to be taken by those going to Kābul, the buildings in hand at Āgrā and Dholpur were recalled to mind, and entrusted to the charge of Mullā Qāsim, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter, *Mīrak, Mīr Ghiyāth Mīr-Sangtarāsh* (stone-cutter) and Shāh Bābā, the spadesman. They were given their leave.[35]

Description of Kachwā (Kadwāhā)[36] (AH 934/1528 AD)

On Friday, 24 Rabī-II 934/17 January 1528, we dismounted near **Kachwā**[37]. It is a shut-in place, having lowish hills all round it. A dam has been made across between the hills on the south-east of it and, thus, a large **lake** is made, perhaps 5 or 6 *kurohs* (10-12 miles) round. This lake encloses Kachwā on three sides; on the north-west a space of ground is kept dry; here, therefore, is its gate. On the lake are a great many very small boats, able to hold 3 or 4 persons. In these boats the inhabitants go out on the lake, if they have to flee (in case of emergency). There are two other lakes before Kachwā is reached, smaller than its own and, like that, made by erecting a **dam** across between the hills. Between Kachwā and Chanderī, the country is *jungly* (full of forest). We waited a day (18 January 1528) in order to appoint overseers and a mass of spadesmen **to level the road and cut down the jungle** so that carts and mortar (gun) might pass along it easily.

Description of Chanderī[38] (AH 934/1528 AD)

(Babur left Kadwāhā on 26 Rabī-II 934/19 January 1528, halted one night on the way, passed the river Bhūranpur, a tributary of Betwā, and dismounted within 3 *kurohs* (6 miles) of Chanderī).

The citadel of **Chanderī** stands on a hili (Pl. XXII); below it are the town (*shahr*) and outer fort (*tāsh-qūrghān*) and below these is the level road along which carts pass.[39] When we left Bhūranpur we marched for a *kuroh* below Chanderī for the convenience of the carts.

On 21 January 1528 (Tuesday, 28 Rabī-II), after one night's halt, we dismounted beside **Bahjat Khān's tank** on the top of its dam.

Riding out at dawn, on 22 January 1528, we assigned post after post around the walled town (*qūrghān*) to centre, right and left. Ustād 'Alī Qulī chose, for his stone discharge, a high ground; overseers and spadesmen were told off to raise a place for the mortar (gun) to rest on, and the whole army was ordered to get ready for taking the fort with such appliances as ladders (*shātū* or *shātūr*; *nardubān*), mantelets (*tūra*) etc.

(Formerly, Chanderī belonged to the kingdom of Mālwā and was held by its governors. At the time Rānā Sāngā led out an army against Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm's nobles turned against him at Dholpur, Chanderī fell into Rāṇā's hands and was given by him to Medinī Rāo (Rāi) who was formerly in the service of the Mālwā Sulṭān. He was greatly trusted by the Rāṇā and was now in the fort of Chanderī with 4000, or 5000 Rājpūts. At first Babur decided to negotiate, and offered Shamsābād in exchange for Chanderī, which he had decided to take, any how. Medinī Rāi declined, either because he did not trust, or because he was confident of the strength of the fort of Chanderī).

On 28 January 1528, Tuesday, 6 Jumāda-I, we marched from Bahjat Khān's tank, intending to take Chanderī by assault. We dismounted at the side of the middle-tank near the **fort**.

(Then follows Babur's description of the battle of Chanderī, 29 January 1528. He attacked through the double-walled road (*dū-tahī*), down one side of the hill on which the fort was situated. It was taken and the ramparts of the fort were scaled. A brief fight ensued inside the fort. '*Jauhar*' (*sākā*) and massacre of the garrison followed).

By God's grace, this renowned fort was captured in 2 or 3 *gharīs*, without drum and standard (i.e. without Babur's taking part in the fighting himself) and with no hard fighting done. **A pillar of pagan-heads was ordered set up on a hill**, north-west of Chanderī. A chronogram of this victory having been found in the words: "*Fatḥ-i-dār'ul-ḥarb*" (Conquest of a hostile seat), I thus composed as follows:

"Was for a while the station Chanderī
Pagan-full, the seat of hostile force;
By fighting, I vanquished its fort,
The date was *Fatḥ-i-dār'ul-ḥarb*."

Chanderī is situated in rather good country having much running water around it. Its citadel is on a hill and inside, it has a **tank cut-out of the solid rock**. There is another large tank (*Kīrat-Sāgar*) at the end of the *dū-tahī*, by assaulting which the fort was taken. All houses in

Chanderī, whether of high or low, are built of stone, (Pl. XXIII-XXIV) those of chiefs being laboriously carved (i.e. of chiselled stone masonry). Those of the lower classes are also of stone but are not carved. They are roofed by stone-slabs instead of earthen tiles (*khaprel*). In front of the fort are three large tanks made by former governors who built dams across and made **tanks** round about it. It has, in the vicinity, a river (*daryāchā*) Betwā by name, which may be some 3 *kurohs* (6 miles) from Chanderi itself. **Its water is noted in Hindustān as excellent and pleasant drinking**. It is a perfect little river (*daryā-ghīna*). In its bed lie piece after piece of sloping (smooth-edged) rock (*qīālār*) fit for masonry for building houses. Chanderī is 90 *kurohs* (180 miles) by road to the south of Āgrā. In Chanderī the altitude of the Pole-Star is 25 degrees.[40]

At dawn, on 8 Jumāda-I 934/30 January 1528, Thursday, we went round the fort and dismounted beside **Mallū Khān's tank**.

(Thereafter Babur returned to the east, towards Kannauj, to deal with the rebellious Afghāns).

Notes and References

1. *BN*, 475-76 and *HCodex* fs. 267b-268.
2. Which was this fort? The Indraprastha fort, later called Purānā Kilā (Qal'ā), the Lāl-Koṭ at Mehraulī, the Sīrī fort of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, the Jahānpanāh of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, or Koṭlā of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq?
3. Which shows that this tomb was not then in ruins.
4. His tomb was also, thus, well preserved and known to the people.
5. It is curious that he mentioned the unfinished *mīnār* of 'Alau'd-Dīn Khaljī, but did not allude to the famous *Quṭb Mīnār*. Probably, he confused the two.
6. This is all he has written on Delhī, which was the formal capital of the Lodī Empire. He has not described it as fully as he did Gwālior. Perhaps, he was constantly busy in other theatres of military operations and did not have time to stay at Delhī.
7. *BN*, 476-78, 629-30, 686 etc and *HCodex*, fs. 268-69, 351 etc.
8. Viz. the *Koh-i-Noor*.
9. The bearer of the stamp (*tamghā*) who by impressing it gave quittance for the payment of tolls and other dues.
10. This shows that for all practical purposes **Āgrā was his capital**.
11. Either 24 or 36 ft according to whether the short or long *qārī* is meant. These towers provided resting-place and some protection against ill-doers, denoted as each did, a government post. They recall the *mīl-i-rādagān* of Persia. Babur's towers were not exactly *kos-mīnārs*,

they were **Ninė-Kos-mīnār** instead. Perhaps, he did not order each *kuroh* to be marked on the road. Some of the *kos-mīnārs* on the ''old Mughal roads'' were over 30 ft high. A considerable number of *kos-mīnārs* are entered and depicted in the *Annual Progress Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India (Northern Circle) for 1914, p. 45 & Pls. 44-45. Some have a **lower chamber**.

12. Vide *BN*, 686, Babur recorded that while returning from the east, via Kālpi, Etāwa and Rāprī, he ḍismounted in the **Garden of Eight Paradises** (*Bāgh-i-Hasht-Bihisht*) at Āgrā. As a matter of fact, he returned, from his excursions, to this garden more often than not, and this was his residential headquarters. Other description of Āgrā has been given in the 'Description of Hindustān', above. The exact situation of this garden at Āgrā has, however, yet to be ascertained.
13. *BN*, 577-81 and *HCodex*, fs. 325b-28.
14. This is one of the names of the principal river which flows eastwards to the south of the Alwar town, other names are Bārah and Rūparel.
15. Beveridge's equivalent dates in the Christian calender on pp. 579-81 have been duly corrected.
16. The town of Fīrūzpur is commonly known as *Fīrūzpur-Jhirkā* (Fīrūzpur of the Spring) from a small perennial *stream* which issues from a number of fissures in the rocks bordering the road through a pass in the Mewāt hills, which leads from the town via Tijārā to Rewārī. In Abū'l Faḍl's time there was a Hindū shrine of Mahādeo near the spring, which is still a place of annual pilgrimage. The **Kūṭila lake** is called *Koṭlā-Jhīl*. It extends 3 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, varying in size with the season. In Abū'l Faḍl's time, it was 4 *kos* (8 miles) round. It lies partly in the district of *Nūh*, partly in Gurgāon where the two tracts join at the foot of the Alwar hills.
17. It is strange that though he visited Biānā and referred to it, over and over again, he did not describe it.
18. It is noticeable that on such sites of springs Babur built octagonal tanks or ponds, generally of 10 yards diameter.
19. *BN*, 548, 581, 585, 588, 615-616 and 709 and *HCodex*, fs. 310, 328b, 330, 331b and 344b.
20. On the eve of the battle of Khānwah.
21. Babur changed the name '*Sīkrī*' to '*Shukrī*' (Thankful) after the Khānwah battle, in gratitude for his victory. The place became *Fateḥpur Sīkrī* of Akbar.
22. Named *Fateḥ-Bāgh* (**the Garden of Victory**).
23. For details, see this author's 'Babur's Jal-Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri', *Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri* (Jaipur 1988) pp. 1-7 & Pls.
24. Babur also built a well at Sīkrī at the place where wine was poured upon the ground and it was finished in Muḥarram 935/ September 1528, cf.

BN, 552. But all this is an account of his own construction work at Sīkrī. Precisely, he has not described it.

25. *BN*, 585, 606-7, 614-15, 634, 639 and 642, and *HCodex*, fs. 330b, 339b-40, 344-44b, 353b-54, 356 and 357b-58.
26. As was done at Qandahār, cf. *BN*, Appendix-J, xxxii-xxxv.
27. For a detailed account of his construction on this site, reference may be made to this author's *HMA*-I, 95-100.
28. Bārī is 19 miles west of Dholpur.
29. Viz. *Diospyrus melonoxylon*, the wood of which is called *tindū-ābnūs* in Hindustānī and *D. tomentosa*, Hindi, *tindū*.
30. He appears to be an architect, or a supervisor (*Mīr-i-'imārat*), rather than a stone-cutter himself.
31. Viz. the *Bāgh-i-Nīlūfar* or the **Lotus-Garden**, which he founded. See *HMA*-I, 95-100, op. cit.
32. This shows that Babur was very keenly interested in this architectural project and he was personally supervising it.
33. This journey thus took 10 hours and 20 minutes, including lunch and rest in the noon, and the time taken in crossing the rivers.
34. The well was to fill a cistern; 26 spouts with their 26 supports were to take water into 26 conduits. Perhaps *tāsh* means that they were hewn in the solid rock and they were on the outer side of the reservoir. Had they been built of masonry stone, the word would have been *sāngīn* or *tāshdīn*.
35. They were supervisors/incharge of several branches of the building department and, obviously, they were not artisans themselves.
36. *BN*, 590-91 and *HCodex*, fs. 332b-333.
37. Kachwā or Kajwā is Kadwāhā. It was named Kajwarrā by Ibn Baṭūṭah who mentioned idol-temples around its lake. Vide Luard's *Gazetteer of Gwalior*, Vol. I, p.247, (situation: 24° 58 'N and 77' 57' E) that there were four temples standing and nine in ruins. *Jogīs* lived at Kadwāhā and they had cordial relations with the Muslim governors of Chanderī. Kadwāhā was a *maḥall* in Akbar's *sarkār* or Bāyawān of the *ṣūbah* of Agra.
38. *BN*, 592-98 and *HCodex*, fs. 333-336.
39. The bed of the Betwā, near Chanderī is 1050 ft above the sea, the town of Chanderī is on a table-land 250 ft higher and its citadel is 230 ft higher again.
40. Its latitude is 24° 43' which approximates Babur's figure.

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